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INTRODUCTION

CRISTINA SCHERRER-SCHAUB (LAUSANNE-VIENNA)

Ronald E. Emmerick's legacy illustrates the vast extent of his knowledge. Renowned as a specialist in Khotanese studies, he was a scholar essentially guided by his subject matter. His interest in the morphology and phonetics of the Khotanese language, a field of research that he approached in the line of his teacher Sir Harold W. Bailey, and through the large conspectus of Indo-Iranian, Chinese and Tibetan Studies, confronted him with the complex phenomenon of the transmission of Indian Buddhism to Central Asia, Tibet, and China. If it is Khotan that opens and closes the list of his publications,[1] his contribution to Buddhist and Tibetan Studies is also remarkable. In the Preface to his *Tibetan Texts Concerning Khotan* (1967: v–vi) he notes that:

> The particularly felicitous circumstances under which this work began deserve to be recorded. Professor Sir Harold Bailey arranged in 1963 with Dr. Snellgrove to send one of the Tibetans under his care to read with us in Cambridge. The result was several weeks spent with Tenzin Namdak (bstan-hjin rnam-dag), former slob-dpon at the Sman-ri monastery.[2] Among other things, we read together the whole of the *Li yul luṅ bstan pa*, Professor Bailey joining us for a few days at the beginning. For the most part, what were difficulties for the scholar

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[1] R. E. Emmerick's first article "Syntax of the cases in Khotanese" was published in 1965, see *BSOAS* xxix.3: 24–33. The last, "Mount Alborz in Khotanese", appeared in A. A. Sadeghi Tafazzoli Memorial Volume, Tehran, 2001: 19–20.

[2] On the circumstances under which Tenzin Namdak and his Bon po colleagues were invited to England by David Snellgrove, on behalf of the Rockefeller Foundation's project, see TADEUSZ SKORUPSKI "The life and adventures of David Snellgrove" in: T. Skorupski (ed.) *Indo-Tibetan Studies*. Tring: The Institute of Buddhist Studies, 1990: 1–21, 10–14. The youngest among the Tibetan scholars was Samten G. Karmay, whose personal memories about this period are recorded in SAMTEN KARMAY et PHILIPPE SAGANT, *Les neuf forces de l'homme: récits des confins du Tibet*. Paris, Société d'Ethnologie, 1998: 9–25.

> with the aid of reference-books remained difficulties for Tenzin Namdak. But in the course of these pleasant weeks, the whole concept of Tibetan culture became alive for me in a way that no amount of reading could have succeeded in presenting it.

Besides unveiling for us a touch of his personality, this short passage reveals the mutual collaboration between Tibetan and Western scholars that, according to a variety of circumstances, has characterised the field of Asian Studies from its earliest days, a fact that is nowadays often ignored.

In his *Tibetan Texts Concerning Khotan,* Emmerick makes accessible the *Li yul chos kyi lo rgyus*—a text preserved only in a Tibetan Dunhuang manuscript (Ptib 960), and the *Li yul luṅ bstan pa* and patently reveals the pivotal role of the oasis in translating and transmitting Buddhist texts and, in some cases, still unexplored micro-historical data. Indeed, if "situated on the southern edge of the Takla Makan Desert that barred the way between India and China on the north, Khotan was a natural meeting-point for travellers from east to west and the reverse",[3] it was also a crossroads between the Tibetan northern regions and the Pamirs, and a possible long distance route from Lhasa to the northern regions of what is now Pakistan. Personal names and toponyms appearing in the so called "Prophecy of the Li Country" were subsequently identified as Khotanese; thus "Tibetan Bijaya Kīrti appears as Viśa' Kīrtta, Viśa' Kīrttā", a contemporary of Khri sroṅ lde btsan and Mu ne brtsan.[4]

The presence of Tibetans in Khotan, attested in various documents such as the famous *tesseræ* or wooden tablets revealing the organisation of the Tibetan army published by Tsuguhito Takeuchi, may also be noted in the use of Khotanese loanwords in Tibetan. One example is *spa,* "originally an important military title 'general' but

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[3] *The Book of Zambasta, a Khotanese Poem on Buddhism*. London, Oxford University Press, 1968: vi.

[4] "Buddhism Among Iranian Peoples" in: E. Yarshater (ed.) *The Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 3 (2): 269. According to O. P. Skjærvo his reign dates of 784?–800+, see Khotanese manuscripts from Chinese Turkestan in the British Library. London, The British Library, 2002, lxvii. Cf. also Cristina Scherrer-Schaub "Revendications et recours hiérarchique: contribution à l'histoire de Śa cu sous administration tibétaine" in: JEAN-PIERRE DRÈGE et OLIVIER VENTURE (éds) *Études de Dunhuang et Turfan*. Genève, Droz, 2007: 257–326.

later used for less distinguished offices" and "identified as Kh. *spāta–,* < O. Ir. **spāda–pati* by H. W. B.[ailey]".[5]

Emmerick's interest in the Indian medical tradition as transmitted to Tibet and Khotan occupies a large part of his work. Indeed, several chapters of the Tibetan medical tradition, found in the *rGyud bźi*, in his words "are largely a reworking into nine-syllable verses of the seven-syllable verse of the translation of Vāgbhaṭa's *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasaṃhitā*". Emmerick's delightful sense of humour appears in his edition and translation of the ninetieth chapter of the *rGyud bźi* devoted to the curing of old age (*rgas pa gso ba*),[6] where a high percentage of the treatment's ingredients are loanwords.

As a matter of fact, the intense exchange between north-western India, the region of Gilgit, and Central Asia may also be followed in records of spoken languages. Roland Bielmeier's analysis[7] of the Khotanese loanword for ginger, "still in use today in certain varieties of modern Purik-Tibetan", shows that Khot. *ttuṃgara-,* which found its way into Tokh. B *tvāṅkaro*, is attested in the translation of Ravigupta's *Siddhasāra*, as the equivalent of Skr *nāgara* and Tibetan *li doṅ gra*.

The *materia medica* thus becomes the *locus* of exploration into the variety of form that the phenomenon of transmitting and adapting ideas, practice, and techniques acquires in a new context. The process of translating is crucial to understanding the multidirectional crossing which characterises several aspects of the transmission, particularly in Serindia. Emmerick's description of Or 8212/162, a complex scroll from Dunhuang,[8] is an exemplary case: "This manuscript begins first with a glossary of phrases and words in Chinese (but written in Brāhmī script!) explained in Khotanese. Then the scribe

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[5] "Tibetan Loanwords in Khotanese" in: *Orientalia Iosephi Tucci Memoriæ Dicata*. Roma, IsMEO, 1985: 313; Tibetan Texts Concerning Khotan. London, Oxford University Press, 1967: 137b. Cf. TSUGUHITO TAKEUCHI *Old Tibetan Contracts from Central Asia*. Tokyo, Daizo Shuppan, 1995: 189–90 and n. 7–8.

[6] "rGas pa gso ba" in: T. SKORUPSKI *Indo-Tibetan Studies*. Tring, The Institute of Buddhist Studies, 1990: 89–99.

[7] In this volume, see pp. 21–27.

[8] See now Prods Oktor Skjærvo *Khotanese manuscripts from Chinese Turkestan in the British Library. A Complete Catalogue with Texts and Translations, with contributions by Ursula Sims-Williams*. London, The British Library, 2002: 44–55.

makes a trial start on a report to the religious community in Khotan from the frequently mentioned city of Sha-chou far to the east …”.[9]

In his attempt to identify the internal and external characteristics that might make it possible to date the late Tibetan manuscripts, Tsuguhito Takeuchi (in this volume) centres his inquiry on Khotanese elements present in Tibetan manuscripts,[10] such as the Khotanese system of pagination in Tibetan transcription. This leads him to believe that a group of seven texts attesting the practice might be dated to the tenth century, a period of relatively intense exchange between Dunhuang and Khotan, whose rulers were at that time allied through marriage. Takeuchi’s contribution also confirms the practice of bi- and multilingualism in Khotan, something previously noted by Emmerick, and which now appears as a common feature pertaining to the Buddhist societies of ancient Xinjiang.

That texts were not necessarily translated, or not always translated from their Indic antecedent is something that is well known in Tibetan studies. Recently Tibor Porcio and Max Deeg have drawn attention to the fact that the Uighur version of the *Sitātapatrā* was probably translated in view of various antecedents. A similar case had been noticed by Emmerick in his reconstruction of the textual transmission of the Khotanese version of Ravigupta's *Siddhasāra.* This famous Indian medical treatise, dating to the seventh century AD, and possibly translated into Tibetan two centuries later, records in its Khotanese preface a passage (vv. 3-7) that is worth quoting *in extenso*:

> This treatise here in Indian (language) was of obscure meaning. Thus they [i.e. the Khotanese] used to study it on account of that in the presence of (Indian) teachers. Due to the foreign language (its) exposition (was) difficult too. (The medical students) had to be led by the hand, they were so bewildered, they remained ineffective. (v. 3)
> It went so far that there were only two or three (medical students) here [i. e. in Khotan]. As for the reader, he was quite alone. All the learners

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[9] “The historical importance of the Khotanese manuscripts” in: *Prolegomena to the Sources on the History of Pre-Islamic Central Asia* (ed.) by J. Harmatta. Budapest, 1979: 171.

[10] cf. Cristina Scherrer-Schaub “Towards a methodology for the study of Old Tibetan manuscripts : Dunhuang and Tabo” in: C. Scherrer-Schaub and Ernst Steinkellner *Tabo Studies II. Manuscripts, Texts, Inscriptions, and the Arts*. Roma, IsIAO, 1999: 3–36.

> of (medical) knowledge cast (it) aside. They repressed those with practical experience. They became lost. (v. 4)
> By means of collections of prescriptions they performed (medical) practice in the whole country. Disease (was) unrecognised because they did not know the theory of it : the unequal humour, time and seasons, (their) intervals too. Inappropriate medicines struck them down : many beings died. (v. 5)
> At that time there was a great minister, Dpal-brtan by name. He obtained this treatise, a defective (copy) in the Tibetan language. He wrote it out properly so that it became complete. But he did not have the knowledge (or) the ability to translate it (into Khotanese). (v. 6)
> He humbly presented this treatise to the Court. The gracious king out of compassion of his own accord, he ordered it to be translated from Tibetan in its entirety, for future beings who (may become) disease-ridden. (v. 7)[11]

And indeed, "close comparison of the Khotanese version of the *Siddhasāra* with the Sanskrit original and with the canonical Tibetan rendering reveals that the Khotanese version is in fact dependent upon both the Sanskrit and the Tibetan."[12]

As seen with the Tibetan texts on Khotan, Emmerick does not confine the research to a particular *genre*: "…my case for the inclusion of religious documents is not based on the existence of doubtful categories. It is based on the experience that just as much information of historical value is to be derived directly or indirectly from religious texts as from secular documents."[13]

The contribution of Siglinde Dietz in this volume seems to respond to this. Indeed, while accurately editing and translating a fragment of Nāgārjuna's *bŚes pa'i phrin yig /Suhṛllekha* (IOL Tib J 646), with the interlinear comments that "summarise or exactly quote" Mahāmati's *ṭīkā*, the author rightly emphasises the two colophons. The first begins with the explicit (*bśes pa'i phrin yig // slob dpon 'phags pa na ga rdzu nas mdzad pa rdzogs so //*) which differs from the canonical (*mdza' bo rgyal po bde spyod la bskur ba*)

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[11] "Some remarks on translation techniques in Khotanese", in: *Sprachen des Buddhismus in Zentralasien*. Vorträge des Hamburger Symposium vom 2. Juli bis 5. Juli 1981, hrsg. von Klaus Röhrborn und Wolfang Veenker. Wiesbaden, O. Harrassowitz, 1983: 20 (Khotanese), 21 (English translation).

[12] *ibid*.: 23.

[13] "The historical importance of the Khotanese manuscripts" in: *Prolegomena to the Sources on the History of Pre-Islamic Central Asia* (ed.) J. Harmatta. Budapest, 1979: 173.

recording the name of the addressee, King bDe spyod, the friend. The explicit of the first Tibetan colophon is followed by the "names of the scribe and the person who requested the work". The second colophon is more elaborate and starts with three verses of eulogy followed by the *explicit* and by the colophon properly speaking, which seems to attribute the copy of the text to Interior Blon (*naṅ rje pa blon*) Khrom bŹer*,* possibly one of the local officers in Dunhuang.

Centring his analysis upon Tibetan and Chinese documents Iwao Kazushi critically investigates the administrative divisions (*sde*) into which the inhabitants of Dunhuang were incorporated under Tibetan rule, thus contributing new evidence on the subtle way in which locals were integrated into the new and foreign resident's political *cum* military power, that has proved successful during the period of the Tibetan conquest of Central Asia.

In his analysis of the narrative recording the institution of the "regional principalities", where Bran ka dPal gyi Yon tan, high religious and minister during the reign of Khri sroṅ lde btsan (c. 800–815), appears as the principal protagonist, Brandon Dotson, besides providing new evidence on the localisation of the traditional clans, reanalyses the role of the mountain deities in the process of centralisation/decentralisation of power and, "as powerful symbol of regionalism", the mountain deities Dotson stresses "were brought together during the empire and they dispersed to support regional rulers after its collapse".

Yoshiro Imaeda's article is a contribution to epigraphical matters. Focusing upon the group of four inscriptions of lDan ma brag in Eastern Tibet, discovered in 1983 by Nyima Dorjee, the author critically reconsiders the monkey year that appears in Inscription II, and that was previously assigned to 816. Imaeda rightly warns against the way of interpreting the years in the Chinese Annals, since "these dates are the years in which the report on the matter in question was received at the imperial Court. If we take into account the time which was necessary for a mission to travel from the Tibetan capital to the Chinese Court, we have to think that in reality the matters in question took place at least one or two, sometimes more, years before the year in which their report is recorded". Subsequently stressing the necessity of having recourse to contemporary Tibetan documents, Imaeda keenly shows how the only date that might be considered is 804, "the only monkey year which falls during the

reign of Khri lde srong btsan". After a careful reading, and a substantive comment on the lDan ma brag Inscription II, Imaeda concludes that the monkey year is possibly the year in which Bran ka Yon tan dPal chen po "was nominated to the High Council, and the Inscription might commemorate this important fact."

Equally concerned with epigraphic records, Helga Uebach proposes a new reading of the inscription of "Tai-he", first published by Édouard Chavannes in 1900, that she studies here together with the inscription recently discovered in Guozhi. Both documents inform us about the history of 'Nan-tchao' and provide quite a number of officers' names and titles that Uebach compares with the data appearing in the Tibetan Annals and Chronicles. Coming back to the title of *gtsaṅ chen*, that according to the author may be associated with a corresponding Chinese title, a fact that is indeed plausible in the light of analogous cases, such as bDe gams. By contrast, it remains uncertain whether or not such a title was necessarily borne by Chinese, particularly when considering the Źwa'i lha khaṅ inscription.[14]

One of the most important points of the outline of the location of Buddhist sites in pre-thirteenth century Eastern Amdo and Longyou presented by Bianca Horlemann, is certainly the remarkable continuity of the Buddhist institution, that may be followed in the region over the course of more than six centuries, and some of these sites indeed still continue to exist nowadays. Such is also the case in the border regions towards India where Indian Buddhist, and at time even non-Buddhist, sites were followed by Tibetan ones. Horlemann shows that in some cases, Tibetan institutions seem to have been replacing Chinese Buddhist institutions in the region under consideration, thus confirming the 'international' spirit of Buddhism (cf. SCHERRER-SCHAUB in this volume). Several places are famous *lieux de mémoire* of Tibetan history, such as "De ga g.yu tshal gtsug lag khaṅ. This monastery or temple was probably situated in bKra śis

[14] See CRISTINA SCHERRER-SCHAUB "Revendications et recours hiérarchique : contribution à l'histoire de Śa cu sous administration tibétaine" in: JEAN-PIERRE DRÈGE and OLIVIER VENTURE (eds) *Études de Dunhuang et Turfan,* Genève, Droz, 2007: 284, n. 87. Worth noting is the fact that in this note I mistakenly take *gtsaṅ chen*, appearing in the Annals (720), as a title rather than as a designation of a territorial unit. If the record of Źwa'i lha khaṅ, cited in the note, seems to be neutral regarding the bearer of the title, in Ptib 1089 the officers who are granted the title of *gtsaṅ chen* are indeed Chinese.

dbyar mo thaṅ in mDo gams and was established in around the mid-9th century".[15] The continuity alluded to before, be it legendary or factual, may be traced over a long period, as is the case of a Chinese-style reliquary situated in former Leṅ cuṅ/Liangzhou, modern Wu'u we/Wuwei. According to tradition it dates back to the fourth century. The stūpa is traditionally associated with Kumārajīva and was rebuilt during the Tang dynasty. It is also associated with Karmapakṣi.

Anne Chayet's reading of the Old Tibetan documents keenly follows the records of material culture, noting, among other things, that the ancient sources only occasionally mention agricultural products. In so doing she paints for us a vivid portrait of Tibetan society, where each brushstroke might (and surely will) inspire future research. Cereals and grains, Anne Chayet tells us, as well as domestic and non-domestic animals, appear in metaphors and proverbs with a large variety of uses and meanings. Her survey leads to essential statements that are only rarely investigated: such as, for instance, the fact that although awareness of nature is strongly present in narrative, the literary comparisons that appear in the *Chronicles* are dependent upon a hierarchical social organisation. If Buddhism has certainly been a factor of progress, accelerating, so to speak the 'rhythm of communication', Chayet insists upon the fact that the *Chronicles* are primarily concerned with legitimating a dynasty, a social group, or even an 'ethnic group'.

On first meeting Ronald Emmerick in Viśegrad, in August 1984, I was impressed by the person and his amazing knowledge. Traditionally chairing the section on Dunhuang studies—panels were fortunately not very current at that time, and epic discussions were the real thing—Emmerick intimidated me to the point that in order to meet his request to respect the time schedule, I read my paper so fast as to incur his displeasure.… This great scholar, who mastered the languages and cultures of a large part of Eurasia, was also an excellent teacher: severe, exacting, and rigorous, keeping a fine sense of humour for appropriate moments, and an extreme kindness.

As a tribute to Emmerick's contribution to Tibetan studies I organised the panel "Old Tibetan Studies"—times had by then

[15] See in this volume p. 132 and n. 58. To the reference given by the author one may add the still inspiring Rolf Stein's *Tibetica Antiqua*, now accessible in English translation, see Arthur McKeown's Rolf Stein's *Tibetica Antiqua with Additional Materials*, 2010: 92–93.

changed—at the IXth Seminar of the IATS held in Oxford in September 2003. The intention was to gather both the older generation of scholars and the emerging young Tibetologists who were showing an interest in the field, with the purpose of generating a fruitful and passionate discussion, as we were accustomed to having with our senior colleagues and teachers. This first gathering was followed in 2005 by a worshop, kindly hosted at the Collège de France by Professor Gérard Fussman. In the meantime, our friend Christoph Cüppers had been asked to convene a small symposium on Dunhuang studies in Dehra Dun, but again we didn't see how time flies…. Floating, like the host of close friends who, like us, are enjoying free research according to the principle of "not (too much) publishing or living", we did not really see that professional colleagues, well acquainted with academic management, had kindly taken over the project and that some young Tibetologists, with good reason, had abandoned the dreaming elephants.

And yet, today I am pleased to present this collection of essays, some sort of *alias* of the past, and in which young and less young scholars share a common interest. My sincere gratitude goes to my friend Charles Ramble for his patient and generous help, and for his unfailing kindness in showing light when obscure events interrupted my perpetual floating. Finally, I would like to present the results gathered here to our esteemed Tibetan friends and colleagues: without them and without Tibet our work would be simply meaningless!

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GINGER: A KHOTANESE LOANWORD IN MODERN PURIK-TIBETAN

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In the eighties and nineties of the last century Ronald E. Emmerick and I used to exchange letters and emails from time to time on language contact between Khotanese and Tibetan. It is now some fourteen years since I informed him in 1997 that I had found that the Khotanese word for 'ginger' is still in use today in certain varieties of modern Purik-Tibetan.

It was his teacher, Harold W. Bailey, who *apud* ROSS 1952: 15 first pointed out that the Khotanese word *ttuṃgara-* 'ginger' was borrowed into Written Tibetan (WT) as *doṅ gra*. This is mentioned by Emmerick in his contribution to the Gedenkschrift for Giuseppe Tucci (EMMERICK 1985: 313 [13]), where he added that in chapter 2.17 of Ravigupta's *Siddhasāra* Khotanese "*ttāṃgare* corresponds to Sanskrit *nāgara* and to Tibetan *li doṅ gra*. *li* in the Tibetan *li doṅ gra* designates Khotan, as pointed out by B. LAUFER, *TP*, 1916, 455-6, n.1." For more details, especially further variants of the Khotanese word see BAILEY 1979: 130, where he proposed an Indo-European etymology deriving it from "**tuvam-kara-*, with **tuva-* 'swollen, tuber, rhizome', hence the ginger root, to base *tau-: tu-* 'to swell'". This etymological analysis is unreplaced up to now. Due to the addition of WT *li* abbreviated for WT *li yul* 'Khotan', there can hardly be any doubt that Tibetan has borrowed from Khotanese and not *vice versa*. In the BTC (2779a), at present the most comprehensive Tibetan dictionary containing material from Classical as well as from Modern Written Tibetan, *li doṅ gra* is explained as *sga dmar gyi miṅ gźan źig* (a different name for red ginger).

It is interesting to note that the Khotanese word for 'ginger' was not only borrowed into Tibetan, but also into Tocharian. Tocharian B *tvāṅkaro* 'ginger' has been compared with Khotanese *ttuṃgare* by BAILEY in *BSOS* VIII/4: 913, 920 (cf. ROSS 1952: 14-15, repeated by ADAMS 1999: 322 "from Khotanese *ttuṃgare*"). According to

ISEBAERT 1980: §§ 66, 259, the Tocharian word was borrowed from a middle Iranian proto-type **t(u)vamkar* < **tuvam-kara-* via Tocharian A, where it, however, has not been found, into Tocharian B.

This picture of a seemingly typical loan can now be extended into the present time, as I found this loan alive and in use in the Tibetan Purik dialect. Today, this dialect is spoken in Lower Ladakh in the Indian part of Kashmir. The Purik-speaking area starts roughly west of the Photu La (pass), including the Chiktan valley to the north on the road from Leh to Kargil, its main settlement, and beyond to Dras, where Purik gets mixed with Indo-Aryan Shina. Purik is also spoken in the Suru-Kartse valley, which extends from Kargil southwards in the direction of Zanskar. During my field work conducted in 1992 with M. Jaffar Akhon, a native speaker of the Tibetan Purik variety of Tshangra in the Suru-Kartse valley, to compile data for the Comparative Dictionary of Tibetan Dialects (CDTD), I recorded with him the word *ʈoŋgára* 'ginger' with stress on the middle syllable used in his mother tongue instead of *ʧazga* 'id.', WT *bca' sga*, as used, e.g., in Baltistan, Lower Ladakh and Leh. This native Tibetan term was also known to him, but not used. Independently, Ngawang Tsering from Nurla in Lower Ladakh, who also recorded data for the CDTD, conducted fieldwork in the same year in Sapi, where he found the same word with the same pronunciation *ʈoŋgára* and the same meaning as well. Sapi is a Purik-speaking village in Lower Ladakh with a mixed Muslim-Buddhist population. His informant was Buddhist. It is the first village one reaches when leaving the Kartse valley in the direction of Mulbek via Shargol after crossing the Rusi La (pass) towards the north. According to the recordings and information gathered by Ngawang Tsering in 1998, the word is also used in the eastern neighbouring Phokari valley with the isolated but important Buddhist pilgrimage site Phokar Urgyan Rdzong, and further east as far as Mulbek. But still further to the east, beyond Mulbek and the Namika La (pass) in the settlements of Botkharbu, Wanla, Ledo, Skyurbuchan and Henaskut, the word is unknown. In the area of Kargil and Chiktan, Ngawang Tsering recorded the word in the same year with speakers from Chiktan and from Dargo, north-east of Chiktan, as well as with speakers from Lotsum and Skambe

Thang near Kargil as *toŋgára*.[1] During his fieldwork on Purik-Tibetan in 2007, Marius Zemp recorded *ṭoŋgára* with speakers from Kargil itself, and Thomas Preiswerk, conducting fieldwork on the Tibetan varieties of Zanskar in the same year, checked the situation for Zanskar, where the word is unknown. Only the amchi (physician) of Juldo, the first Buddhist settlement encountered after leaving the Muslim and Purik-speaking area in the Suru valley at Pakarchik towards Zanskar, knew the word, but did not use it. Thus, the usage of *toŋgára* beside *ṭoŋgára* seems to be restricted to the Purik-speaking area with the exclusion of its eastermost part, i. e. east of Mulbek and the Namika La. The word is known neither in Baltistan, nor in Zangskar, nor in the Ladakhi-speaking area of Ladakh. In Baltistan and in Ladakh outside of the Purik area but including Zangskar, the usual word is a form of WT *bca' sga*. Hindi and Urdu *adrak* is usually also known. In the Central Tibetan varieties we find according to QU AND TAN 1983: 238, no. 183 in Ngari mainly forms of WT *sga skya* and *sga smug*. WT *sga skya* is the basis for Shigatse and Lhasa *ka̠cā* (HALLER 2000: 192, TBL, no. 425). In Lhasa a form of WT *sga smug* seems also to be current (cf. QU AND TAN, l. c., ZMYYC, no. 211). In Kham and Amdo we mainly find forms of WT *bca' sga* and *sga skya*. Examples are Bathang *tɕārgā* < WT *bca' sga* (TBL, no. 425) and Derge *gāɕā* < WT *sga skya* (ZMYYC, no. 211) for Kham and Themchen *tɕarga* < WT *bca' sga* (HALLER 2004: 348) and Rkangtsha *rgaʂca* < WT *sga skya* (CDTD) for Amdo.

The only Tibeto-Burman language outside of Tibetan in which the word occurs is Tamang, spoken in Nepal. HALE 1973: 116 gives Tamang *tungra* 'ginger' with a tense word-initial consonant and a falling pitch contour. This is confirmed by Martine Mazaudon, who adds that this means a proto-Tamang voiceless initial in what she has called proto-tone B and that the initial in the Risiangku dialect is a retroflex *ṭ*-.[2] This coincides with the finding that in the Tibetan dialects the initial also varies. It looks as if the Tamang word was borrowed from a Tibetan variety, but no Tibetan dialect spoken at present in the neighbourhood of Tamang uses this word. In Kyirong, e.g., they know that their Tamang neighbours to the south in the

[1] The initial is a voiceless alveolar or sometimes retroflex stop.
[2] Martine Mazaudon in an email, dated 13.10.1999.

Rasuwa district of Nepal use it, but they themselves only use *ci̱ʱpɕē:* (HUBER 2005: 274), which is close to several Tibetan varieties in Nepal, cf., e.g., Yolmo (or Helambu Sherpa) with several variants *ke̱pɕer, ce̱pɕer, ca̱pɕer, ca̱pɕar* (HARI AND LAMA 2004: 72, 87, 99), Kagate *ke̱pɕal* (HARI AND HOEHLIG), and Jirel *ge̱ɕer* (STRAHM AND MAIBAUM 2005: 127), all from WT *sge'u gśer* 'fresh ginger'. This is also the Tibetan rendering of Sanskrit *ādraka-* 'fresh ginger' in chapter 21.16 of Ravigupta's *Siddhasāra*. Its Khotanese version, whose translator used both the Sanskrit and the Tibetan text, has *ttūṃgara-* (cf. EMMERICK 1980: 111, EMMERICK 1982: 318f., BAILEY 1979: 130).

In modern languages outside of Tibeto-Burman the Khotanese word is noted by RAMASWAMI 1989: 39 for Brokskat as *tuŋgara* 'ginger'.[3] The same form *tuŋgára* with stress on the middle syllable was recorded by Ngawang Tsering from two native speakers of Brokskat who were about sixty years old at the time of the recording (1998). One speaker was a Buddhist from Dartsiks, the other a Muslim from Batalik, who added that originally the ginger called *tuŋgára* was imported from Yarkand. Gyaltsan, a Buddhist Brokskat speaker from Garkhon with whom I worked in the late 1980s in Leh knew the word but did not use it. He explained it as a Muslim word and used *ʧazga* himself. Brokskat is a Shina dialect, close to the Shina variety of Gilgit, but with a considerable Tibetan loan vocabulary, mainly from Purik, with which it is in close areal contact. Lacking a self-designation, the speakers use the Purik name *broqpa* 'people occupying the summer pastures (in the mountains)', cf. WT *'brog pa* 'pasture land people, highlander, nomad', for themselves and *broqskat* for their language, cf. WT *'brog pa* and WT *skad* 'language'. In Brokskat, *tuŋgára* is apparently a loan from Purik, as it is not known in any other Shina dialect. As confirmed by Georg Buddruss, we find *šiŋór* in Shina, and in Gilgit also *šiŋóor* f., cf. *níili šiŋóor* 'green ginger', etymologically connected with *śiṃgavera-* in the Niya Documents, Prakrit *siṃgavera-*, Sanskrit *śṛṅgavera-* (cf. MAYRHOFER 2001: 495, TURNER 1966: 12588) and semantically corresponding to Urdu and Hindi *adrak* 'fresh ginger',

[3] Ramaswami, l.c., transcribes *tuŋgaRa,* characterising the initial *t* as alveolar stop (vs. dental stop) and the *R* as alveolar trill (cf. RAMASWAMI 1982: 7). The word was already mentioned in RAMASWAMI 1975: 21, 55 and is also listed in SHARMA 1998: 140, 168 as *tuŋgəra* 'ginger'.

which is widespread, going back ultimately, like Nepali *aduvā*, to Sanskrit *ārdra(ka)-* n. 'fresh, undried ginger' (cf. MAYRHOFER 2001: 23, TURNER 1966: 1341, TURNER 1985: 1341). Earlier, ginger was planted in Gilgit, but is now imported from the Punjab.[4] According to Hermann Berger, Burushaski also has only *śiŋór*,[5] probably a loan from Shina.

The writing of the initial in Khotanese *ttuṃgara-* as well as the initials of the Purik-Tibetan and Tamang loans point definitely to an old voiceless initial stop. Therefore, it is astonishing that the WT loan *doṅ gra* shows a voiced initial stop. And this writing is documented at least in two sources of the early ninth century, in the above-mentioned Tibetan version of Ravigupta's *Siddhasāra* as *li doṅ gra* and in the *Mahāvyutpatti* (cf. EMMERICK 1980: 2f.). In the *Mahāvyutpatti* (Mvy 5792) we find Tibetan *le doṅ ra* (sic) rendering Sanskrit *nāgara-* 'dried ginger' which is corrected to *li doṅ ra* in the Tibetan index. In the following entry (Mvy 5793), however, Sanskrit *śuṇṭhī-* 'dried ginger' is translated by the native WT term *bca' sga*. Despite the fact that it was certainly clear that *li* referred to the country and *doṅ gra* to the plant,[6] the writing with a voiced initial could be due to the fact that *li doṅ gra* was borrowed as a whole and considered as one word. This assumption would make a voicing between vowels conceivable and could explain a further problem of the WT form. This is a ninth century reduction of the trisyllabic Khotanese *ttuṃgara-* to a disyllabic WT *doṅ gra* in view of the still extant trisyllabic pronunciation *toŋgára* beside *ṭoŋgára* in Purik-Tibetan of today, which is very close to the Khotanese model. But if we start from a borrowing *li doṅ ra*, the reduction fits exactly into the contemporary Balti stress pattern in polysyllabic lexemes. In Balti,

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4 Georg Buddruss in a letter, dated 13.02.1999.

5 Hermann Berger in a letter, dated 2.03.1999; cf. also BERGER 1998: 395.

6 For further plant names containing the element *li* for Khotan cf. LAUFER 1916: 455f., n. 1 and BAILEY 1955: 17f. In Balti folklore *lijul* designates Khaplu, the main settlement of eastern Baltistan, whereas Balti *xorjul*, Purik and Ladakhi *horjul* usually mean Chinese Turkestan and especially Yarkand. This fits to the usage of WT *hor* 'Turks' in the *Li yul chos kyi lo rgyus* (The religious annals of the Li country), cf. EMMERICK 1967: 85, 107. According to the Raja of Shigar (BALTISTANI 2003) Balti *li* means 'steel, iron' and *li rgjabaq* is a huge iron wall (cf. WT *rgya* 'wide' and *pag bu* 'brick'). The late Balti scholar Wezir Ghulam Mehdi, however, explained to me that this expression was used to put off the enemies. The wall itself consisted of pounded clay (*qalaq*). In the Tibetan dialects forms of WT *li* are quite widespread but with the expected meaning as in WT 'kind of bronze, bell-metal'.

the stress remains on the second syllable, regardless of affixation or compounding. This fixed position implies a shift of stress in the case of prefixation, e.g.: *apó* 'grandfather', *apó-ʧo* 'grandfather (honorific)', but *jaŋ-ápo* 'great-grandfather'.[7] In the same way, we can assume a shift of stress followed by a syllable reduction in the case of *li doṅ ra*: **toŋgára* > **lidóŋgara* > WT *li doṅ gra*. This view implies that we have to consider the Balti stress pattern at least as old as the borrowing and certainly more widespread than today. This coincides with the findings in my paper "On tone in Tibetan" (Bielmeier 1988), where I tried to show that stress was one of the three basic factors in the development of tonal phenomena in certain modern Tibetan dialects. And the Balti stress pattern seems indeed to reflect the oldest ascertainable pre-tonal stage in this historical process.

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[7] For further details see BIELMEIER 1988, especially p. 47ff.

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ASPECTS DE LA VIE MATÉRIELLE AU TIBET ANCIEN : NOTES PRÉLIMINAIRES

ANNE CHAYET (PARIS)

En un demi-siècle, le progrès de notre connaissance, dans la plupart des domaines de l'histoire tibétaine, a été étonnant. Cependant l'histoire économique et sociale et plus modestement celle de la vie matérielle, de l'origine et du développement des techniques de base, est encore un secteur des travaux où domine souvent l'incertitude, au-delà d'un cadre très général. Il arrive que la question ne puisse pas même être posée, pour une région ou une époque, faute du moindre document.

HISTOIRE ÉCONOMIQUE ET SOCIALE : DÉMARCHE

L'ouverture des archives tibétaines, pour limitée qu'elle soit encore, permet néanmoins d'espérer que d'importantes précisions pourront un jour être apportées à l'histoire économique et sociale du Tibet, du moins en ce qui concerne les périodes moderne et contemporaine. Ces documents espérés s'ajouteront alors aux rares mais précieux recensements effectués à diverses périodes, depuis celui de 1268 jusqu'à ceux du XIX^{e} siècle, à l'examen attentif de la littérature historique et technique, somme toute à la démarche ordinaire de l'historien du Tibet. Mais le passé plus lointain, en particulier la période monarchique, ne semble pas devoir bénéficier des mêmes éclaircissements. De cette période répondent pourtant les exceptionnelles archives que constituent les documents découverts à Dunhuang et dans les oasis d'Asie centrale. Les travaux récents de TSUGUHITO TAKEUCHI,[1] par exemple, ou ceux d'ERIC TROMBERT sur les manuscrits en langue chinoise,[2] donnent un éclairage très nouveau sur l'économie des régions de Dunhuang et Turfan et les

[1] 1992, 1995.
[2] Par exemple 1995, 2002.

relations entre leurs populations. Mais il est plus difficile de retrouver ce qu'était le quotidien au Tibet central, même si des usages et une organisation en partie parallèles régnèrent en un temps sur les deux régions, à l'époque de l'empire tibétain. La différence de climat, notamment, et donc de ressources et de modes de vie, la relative ignorance où l'on est encore quant à l'origine de certaines des populations présentes, ne permettent pas d'y appliquer directement les solutions désormais éprouvées pour le monde des oasis.

Que l'on fasse appel aux documents et inscriptions concernant le Tibet proprement dit et datant de la période de la Première Diffusion (*snga dar*), ou bien aux documents historiographiques postérieurs à la Seconde Diffusion (*phyi dar*), en particulier aux récits des Chroniques dites tardives,[3] la recherche est beaucoup moins fructueuse en ce qui concerne le Tibet central et, faisant appel plus largement à l'interprétation, court plus facilement le risque de l'erreur. Il n'est pas facile de rejeter une hypothèse séduisante et plausible, faute de preuves formelles. Il n'est pas facile de se limiter à la juxtaposition et à la comparaison des différentes versions d'un même fait sans être tenté par un jugement, d'autant plus que l'on est tenté par la recherche de structures et par la modélisation. La réunion de multiples points de vue est pourtant l'une des richesses de l'œuvre de DPA' BO GTSUG LAG PHRENG BA, par exemple, et les travaux de HAARH et de SØRENSEN, notamment, s'en sont inspirés avec un grand bonheur.[4] Mais la démarche rencontre vite ses limites et nécessite une prudence parfois décourageante. Ainsi, après avoir réuni un maximum de variantes de l'histoire du roi Gri gum, peut-on parler de son combat avec Lo ngam comme d'une révolte (*gyen log*) des sujets, ainsi que l'a fait DMU DGE BSAM GTAN?[5] C'est pourtant introduire, ne serait-ce qu'à titre d'hypothèse, un élément d'histoire sociale dans un récit qui paraît tourner essentiellement autour de la fonction royale.

Par ailleurs, dans les Chroniques tardives, le nombre des variantes est parfois tel qu'il semble impossible d'en trouver une plus

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[3] L'habitude est désormais assez bien prise d'appeler Chroniques tardives les textes (*chos 'byung*, *lo rgyus*, etc…) postérieurs au XII[e] siècle, pour qu'il soit inutile de le justifier à nouveau.

[4] HAARH 1969; SØRENSEN 1994.

[5] DMU DGE BSAM GTAN 1997: 22 : ... *rgyal phran blon lo ngam rta rdzi zhes bya bas 'bangs gyen log byas te / rgyal po gri gum bsad /.*

vraisemblable que les autres. Avec prudence, pour ne pas renouveler l'erreur des moines de Ti tsa qui, après avoir réuni plusieurs versions d'un texte, choisirent comme *vulgate* celle qui était le plus largement représentée et découvrirent trop tard que c'était la version discordante qui était la bonne,[6] l'habitude s'est prise volontiers de s'abstenir de faire un choix ou de tenter une hypothèse s'il n'y a pas moyen de les conforter, par l'archéologie ou des documents d'archives, notamment. Parmi les moyens qui peuvent permettre la décision figure l'analyse des procédés de rédaction, mais il faut reconnaître humblement les difficultés de la tâche. On peut également repérer les citations ou les emprunts à un texte connu, et les vérifier, tâche souvent aléatoire, et compliquée par la disparition d'un certain nombre de sources importantes, à commencer par les archives de la période monarchique.[7] La comparaison des diverses versions d'un même épisode, versions du reste plus souvent cumulatives que réellement contradictoires, peut conduire à l'établissement d'une sorte de typologie. Par exemple, les mDzangs pa mi bdun, qui jouent un rôle dans certaines innovations répertoriées par les Chroniques tardives (découverte et fonte des métaux, joug et araire, mais aussi écriture...) sont mentionnés par le *rGyal rabs gsal ba 'i me long*, dans l'œuvre de DPA' BO GTSUG LAG 'PHRENG BA, etc, mais ne semblent pas l'être dans le *bKa' chems ka khol ma* ou dans le *Chos 'byung* de BU STON. Certaines lignées de transmission de la tradition historique sont bien connues, il ne s'agit donc pas forcément de reconnaître une tradition suivie globalement, mais plus souvent de déterminer les différentes traditions suivies au gré des épisodes, même si la source précise en demeure souvent impossible à situer. Il n'est peut-être pas tout à fait gratuit que différentes traditions se soient développées en ce qui concerne l'histoire du développement matériel, puis culturel, du Tibet.[8]

Il faut également reconnaître, mesurer et comprendre l'ajout ou la substitution qu'un auteur a pu faire d'une information contemporaine de sa propre rédaction. Peut-être peut-on se poser

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[6] L'histoire, bien connue, est passée en proverbe.

[7] En dehors des fonds de Dunhuang et d'Asie centrale, bien entendu.

[8] HAARH 1969: 125, notait déjà l'existence d'au moins deux traditions concernant la description du développement culturel des Tibétains, l'une en situant le début avec le règne de gNya' khri btsan po, l'autre avec celui de sPu de gung rgyal, et sans compter les variantes plus difficilement explicables.

cette question pour les mines (fer, cuivre etc.), dont le *rGyal rabs gsal ba 'i me long* signale la découverte sous le règne de gNam ri srong btsan,[9] un règne par ailleurs important pour les innovations techniques (*sman*, *rtsis*, architecture et disposition des tombes, etc.) qui lui sont attribuées. En outre, il convient de s 'interroger sur l 'incompréhension que cet auteur a pu avoir d 'une donnée obsolète pour lui ou sur l 'interprétation erronée qu 'il a pu en donner, enfin sur la reconstruction qu 'il a pu tenter dans un récit rétrospectif qui est parfois surtout synthétique, et pour quelles raisons.

Nous avons tous du Tibet ancien une certaine image, qui doit beaucoup à des analyses datant d 'époques postérieures, des traductions intermédiaires peut-on dire. Cette image est confortée par l 'opinion bien ancrée, même si on s 'en défend, selon laquelle le Tibet n 'a guère changé entre son moyen âge et le milieu du XXe siècle. Même si elle n 'est pas inexacte pour certains aspects de civilisation, et pas des moindres, c 'est une opinion qu 'il convient de réexaminer, par exemple à la lumière d 'une connaissance désormais affinée de l 'évolution écologique de la région. Par ailleurs, nous sommes encore contraints à parler prudemment d 'un "âge du métal" indéterminé pour la période qui va de la fin du néolithique aux alentours du VI–VIIe siècle, et qui englobe donc en partie la période monarchique. Il est certain que cette expression ne rend pas compte de l 'évolution des techniques au cours de cette longue période, ni de la diversité du paysage ethnique et social, dont la diversité des types d 'inhumation donne pourtant une mesure étonnante, mais il faut se résoudre à l 'employer tant que l 'archéologie n 'aura pas apporté assez d 'éléments de jugement à cet égard.

Pour résumer, en ce qui concerne les techniques et la vie matérielle au Tibet proprement dit, à l 'époque monarchique, les sources sont bien connues et ne sont certainement pas aussi nombreuses qu 'on le souhaiterait, si on retire de l 'étude la plupart des documents (inventaires, traités et contrats) qui ont permis de reconstituer en partie les structures économiques et sociales et les réseaux commerciaux des oasis. Il faut donc composer avec les disciplines, aussi bien l 'histoire que l 'épigraphie, l 'archéologie, l 'anthropologie et la linguistique, notamment. Il faut également considérer les sources plus tardives, postérieures à la Seconde

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[9] 1982: 133 ; SØRENSEN 1994, 259.

Diffusion, en particulier les Chroniques et les citations qu'elles contiennent, les traités techniques (pour les techniques que les lettrés tibétains ont abordées), les travaux et les opinions des historiens tibétains, parfois singulièrement éclairants, sans oublier les travaux des tibétologues hors du Tibet, à commencer par les sources chinoises, anciennes et modernes. On en arrive à la constitution de documents intermédiaires, bases thématiques dont l'intérêt n'est pas tant le thème que le traitement qu'il a reçu et son évolution, ainsi que le regard ou le point de vue de celui qui l'a utilisé ou abordé. De cette confrontation ressortent parfois des éléments inattendus, en phénomènes de marge plutôt que dans les séries. En effet, cet abord, qui ne prétend pas être statistique (il n'en a pas les moyens) tend à délimiter des séries, qui correspondent en général aux traditions de l'historiographie tibétaine classique ; mais son principal intérêt est de souligner les exceptions, les anomalies ou les discordances, pour s'interroger sur leur nature et leur signification.

L'un des intérêts d'une telle démarche, démarche au long cours et dont il ne saurait être donné ici que quelques exemples, réside dans l'interrogation incessante que le chercheur est appelé à faire, non pas seulement sur la chronologie et l'enchaînement des faits ou sur les variantes entre les multiples versions d'un fait, mais sur la méthode des auteurs et sur leurs procédés de rédaction. Si les citations sont souvent difficiles à identifier et à retrouver, l'écriture de la plupart de ces textes—quel qu'en soit le genre—est d'une grande richesse, du point de vue de la stylistique comme de celui de la composition. Certains ouvrages très académiques peuvent, il est vrai, ne pas offrir cette dimension, mais dans la plupart des cas, en particulier celui des Chroniques tardives, même une recherche aussi modeste qu'une recherche sur la culture matérielle devient une plongée dans l'esprit tibétain et dans son génie. Dès lors, ce ne sont plus seulement les séries conséquentes et homogènes qui sont signifiantes, mais les anomalies, les dissonances et les innovations qui donnent la mesure de la richesse de l'inspiration tibétaine, et dont l'histoire, même dans sa plus grande rigueur, doit tenir compte.

AGRICULTURE, ÉLEVAGE.... : DOCUMENTS ANCIENS

Il serait sans doute plus logique de commencer l'énumération des ressources et des nécessités matérielles du Tibet par l'élevage plutôt

que par l'agriculture, mais restons en à la tradition formelle qui mentionne l'agriculture avant l'élevage, même si son histoire ne peut encore être qu'une esquisse très hésitante, du moins en ce qui concerne le Tibet central.

L'archéologie nous a révélé la présence du millet (t. *khre*, c. *su*, céréale indigène en Chine) dans l'aire tibétaine, notamment sur le site néolithique de mKhar ro, sur le haut Mékong, dans la région de Chab mdo.[10] Les nombreuses fouilles menées au Tibet central, et dont certaines ont mis du grain au jour, ont rarement proposé des datations précises jusqu'à présent. Cependant de l'orge d'altitude a été découverte, à côté de millet, à Changguogou, site néolithique de la région de Gong dkar au Tibet central.[11] Les dates proposées demeurent assez vagues, la fourchette de 6 000/4 000 ans indiquée marque tout au plus le néolithique, mais l'auteur affirme qu'il s'agit là du début des cultures céréalières et que les outils mis au jour montrent qu'il s'agit aussi du début des cultures sur labour. On en est arrivé à une conclusion analogue pour les sites de la culture de Qijia du Gansu, entre -2 200 et -1 600 environ, où la nature des outils aratoires (en bois), suggère le passage de l'agriculture sur brûlis à l'agriculture sur labour.[12]

Les inventeurs de Changguogou identifient leur découverte comme de l'orge nue (*Hordeum vulgare*, var. *nudum,* c. *qingkemai*), variété propre aux semailles de printemps et proposent une date antérieure à celle de mKhar ro. Un exemple unique ne permet guère de conclusion. Cette découverte, si ses dates doivent être confirmées, est néanmoins un jalon intéressant pour l'histoire de la diffusion de l'orge, et un lien entre son histoire au Tibet proprement dit et dans les régions d'Asie centrale que l'empire tibétain a englobées. Cette découverte permet également de rappeler que le Tibet central appartient à la zone des céréales de printemps (les semailles d'automne n'y sont pas pratiquées), comme la région de Dunhuang et les oasis d'Asie centrale, même si les similitudes s'arrêtent à peu près là.

Comme le blé, l'orge est probablement venue de l'Occident, du moins du Proche-Orient. En Asie centrale, ces céréales se sont

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[10] *Changdu Karuo* 1985. Les 3 couches du site ont été datées (C 14) 4955 +/- 100, 4280 +/- 100 et 3930 +/- 80.

[11] FU DAXIONG, 2001.

[12] DEBAINE-FRANCFORT 1995: 315–16, citant Song Zhaolin.

répandues, puis elles ont lentement contré le monopole du millet, jusqu'en Chine du Nord.[13] Dans la région au Nord-Ouest de la Chine, les cultures qui se développèrent vers la fin du néolithique jouèrent un rôle important d'intermédiaire entre deux mondes en train de marquer leur différence, la Chine, monde des agriculteurs puis de l'urbanisation, et le monde des pasteurs auquel appartenait le Tibet.[14] Le millet (dans l'ensemble *Setaria italica*) domina encore dans ces régions à l'époque des cultures de Qijia, Qiayao, Nuomuhong, Xindian et Huoshaogou (soit des dernières années du IIIe millénaire jusqu'au début du premier millénaire avant notre ère approximativement), puis il commença à régresser. Sous les Tang, dans la période qui inclut l'occupation de Dunhuang par les Tibétains, le millet est attesté dans l'oasis en même temps que d'autres céréales (blé, orge, avoine…) et des légumes (pois, etc.). Le blé et l'orge dominaient déjà au IIIe siècle de notre ère à Loulan et Niya (actuel Xinjiang), et également aux VI–VII^e siècles dans les oasis de Khotan, Kucha et Turfan,[15] toutes régions de céréales de printemps, où les Tibétains furent présents longtemps avant d'occuper Dunhuang. Le hiatus entre les dates proposées pour la découverte de Gong dkar et la période des rois "historiques" du Tibet est si large qu'il interdit pratiquement le commentaire. Si l'on sait désormais que, pour la période qui nous préoccupe, celle de l'empire tibétain, la présence de l'orge était d'autant plus affirmée qu'on s'éloignait vers l'Ouest, et que cela inclut le Tibet central, il ne semble pas encore possible de donner davantage de précisions sur les conditions de son introduction.[16]

Lorsque les *Annales* des Tang rendent compte du Tibet,[17] elles précisent que le pays avait un climat très froid (excluant en principe les semailles d'automne, on le sait) et que, si l'on n'y cultivait pas

[13] TROMBERT 1995: 39–43.
[14] Cf. par ex. DEBAINE-FRANCFORT 1995: 339–42.
[15] TROMBERT 1995: 42.
[16] Précisons que, dans cette note préliminaire, le "versant indien", c'est-à-dire les influences venues par le sud et l'ouest du Tibet, n'a pas été pris en compte, délibérément, pour tenir dans les limites de l'article. Il sera bien entendu examiné par la suite.
[17] *Jiutang shu*, *Tufan zhuan*, J. 145 A, p. 5220 ; passage repris dans le *Xintang shu*, J. 215 A, p. 6072.

le riz, on y trouvait le blé, le sarrasin et l 'orge.[18] Les Tibétains n 'ont pas laissé pour cette période de ces traités d 'agriculture dont la Chine a été prodigue et qui aident à reconstituer la réalité des cultures. Il est vrai que les documents trouvés à Dunhuang nous renseignent volontiers sur la culture, la récolte et le commerce de cette précieuse céréale,[19] mais essentiellement en ce qui concerne les oasis.

Si l 'on considère parmi ces documents ceux qui concernent en principe le Tibet proprement dit, et non les oasis, on découvre vite que le nombre des données pratiques est limité et peu quantifiable. Il est vrai que ces documents sont relativement peu nombreux et que, si les oasis peuvent être considérées comme des zones agricoles florissantes, ce n 'est pas le cas du plateau tibétain, à part quelques vallées particulièrement bien exposées.

Il n 'est pas étonnant que les célèbres *Annales* (PT 1288, I.O. 750, B.M.Or. 8212/187) ne parlent guère ou pas d 'agriculture. Le souverain du Tibet, qui en est la raison et le sujet, n 'a jamais, comme l 'empereur de Chine, ouvert par un rituel le cycle annuel des activités agricoles. Le souci de la terre est présent dans les *Annales*, mais il est d 'ordre cadastral ou foncier. Le roi est le maître des terres, il inventorie les domaines et leurs biens, il fixe des limites, il attribue des terres, il en reprend à des feudataires disgraciés. Ce sont les mentions biens connues des années 653, 686, 687, 690, 691, 713, 718 et 719–720. Pour les années 718–719,[20] en dehors du partage ou du décompte des champs, il est fait allusion à une estimation des récoltes. Cette mention n 'est pas annuelle et suggère peut-être une

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[18] La traduction inachevée que Paul Pelliot a faite des chapitres des *Annales* des Tang consacrés au Tibet laisse un doute sur les noms de ces céréales, en effet, il y en a un qu 'il n 'a pas traduit. Eric Trombert 1995: 46–47, propose, avec des arguments solides, de lire *qingguomai* du *Tangshu* (non traduit par Pelliot) comme orge (*qingke*, *qingkemai*) et non comme avoine (ainsi que le fait BRAY 1984: 463). On retrouve là le terme utilisé pour les grains découverts à Changguogou. En chinois comme en tibétain, la nature d 'une céréale mentionnée est souvent déterminée par les indications du contexte plutôt que par l 'usage fixe d 'un terme, soit que celui-ci couvre plusieurs sortes ou plusieurs variétés de céréales, ou plusieurs *usages* ou *états* des céréales, soit qu 'il ait changé de sens avec le temps.

[19] Cf. TAKEUCHI 1992, 1995 et 1999 ; TROMBERT 1995 ; également THOMAS 1935–1963, *passim*.

[20] *Choix de documents*, (désormais : *Choix*…), II, pl. 587, l. 157 et 160 (I.O. 750) : *... ru gsum gyi rje zhing (158) glings gyi pying ril dang / sog rild bgyis...*
(160) *ru gsum gyi rje zhing gyi phying ril gyi rtsis dang / sog ma 'i rtsis dang...*

mesure exceptionnelle, due à des circonstances non précisées, ou une modification du régime foncier. Mais il n'est pas question de labours... Il ne s'agit donc que de quelques pièces du puzzle, à confronter aux informations plus développées réunies par les travaux menés sur les divisions territoriales, les institutions ou les fonctionnaires du Tibet à l'époque de ses souverains.[21]

La non moins célèbre *Chronique* de Dunhuang (PT 1287 + I.O.ch.XVII/2) présente, bien qu'elle soit avant tout une sorte de geste des souverains, quelques éléments de la vie matérielle, dont certains ont été repris par les Chroniques tardives. Ces éléments sont peu nombreux et posent le problème de l'interprétation, que les Chroniques tardives éclairent d'autant moins qu'elles ne les ont pas dans l'ensemble repris exactement ni uniformément, se basant sans doute parfois sur d'autres sources, archives ou ouvrages aujourd'hui disparus. Les thèmes centraux de la *Chronique* de Dunhuang ne concernent pas l'agriculture en tant que telle et il faut se contenter de notations assez marginales. Ainsi, les Tibétains, comme les rédacteurs de la *Chronique,* étaient bien persuadés que l'eau est le nécessaire fécondant de la terre, et c'est déjà un 'cliché' qui compare le souverain à l'eau ou à la pluie bienfaisante, quand la comparaison ne vient pas aux lèvres du souverain lui-même, sPu lde gung rgyal, pour décrire son action.[22] Cette phrase souligne l'importance cruciale du rôle du monarque, mais ne paraît pas évoquer un véritable rite agraire. L'importance de l'eau, en particulier des fleuves, est du reste soulignée à plusieurs reprises. Certains personnages procèdent à de grands travaux : de Tseng sku qui "coupe la rivière",[23] on peut peut-être penser qu'il a établi un barrage ou construit une digue. Les menaces d'une rivière en crue sont signalées.[24] Mais on n'a pas de séries assez conséquentes du thème dans des contextes divers pour être certain du type d'intervention visé. Les Chroniques tardives font plusieurs fois allusion à l'eau quand elles parlent de la dynastie, mais il n'est pas aisé de décider s'il s'agit de références techniques, ou

[21] Cf. notamment les travaux de Róna-Tas, Uebach, et Uray.

[22] *Choix…*, II, pl. 558, l. 52 et pl. 559, l. 59 : *dog yab kyi char ma mchisna* / (59) *dog yab kyi chab mchis kyis…*

[23] *Choix…*, II, pl. 565, l. 235 : *klum na ni chab gchod pa / tseng sku ni smon to re /*

[24] *Choix…*, II, pl. 563, l. 182 : *chu bo ni rab tu btod do / dra la ni dbye ru bting ngo* /… BACOT 1940–1946, p. 137, n.10, soulignait le lien entre cette rivière en crue et le barrage (?) mentionné plus loin dans le texte et qui figure ici à la note précédente.

bien d 'allusions proverbiales et symboliques. Elles font allusion de façon plus nette à deux procédés d 'irrigation, typiques des régions de montagne, en fait une adduction d 'eau par canal de niveau, et une répartition dans un ensemble de champs.[25] Il n 'est pas déraisonnable de penser que ces procédés, fort anciens, étaient connus au Tibet à l 'époque de la rédaction de la *Chronique*, d 'autant qu 'à Dunhuang (comme dans les oasis en général) le réseau et le système d 'utilisation de l 'eau étaient codifiés à l 'extrême. Mais, si la *Chronique* mentionne des digues et des canaux, il serait excessif d 'y voir une allusion à la controverse fameuse en Chine à propos des canaux creusés par Yu le grand et des digues construites par son père pour résorber les Eaux débordées des temps mythiques.[26]

Dans les documents de Dunhuang concernant le Tibet proprement dit, les allusions aux produits de l 'agriculture sont relativement rares. La reine Sad mar khar, dans sa célèbre complainte, dit se nourrir de poisson et d 'une céréale, *gro*, dont la présence est attestée à l 'époque au Tibet, bien qu 'en position mineure. C 'est plus le sens symbolique qu 'il faut chercher ici qu 'une information précise, à ceci près que Bacot a traduit *gro* par blé et Uray par barley/orge, preuve s 'il en était besoin, de la nécessité d 'apporter quelques précisions au sujet. Dans un autre chapitre de la *Chronique*, mGar Khri 'bring et un envoyé du commandant chinois s 'adressent d 'élégantes provocations comme préambule à la bataille, à grand renfort de métaphores, dont le sens n 'est pas toujours évident mais dont certaines mentionnent des produits de l 'agriculture.[27] Un sac de grains de millet (*khre*) et un sac de grains de moutarde (*yungs*) servent à l 'envoyé chinois pour donner une mesure du nombre des soldats qui peuvent attaquer l 'armée tibétaine. mGar rétorque point

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[25] Une rigole suivant les courbes de niveau de la montagne fait descendre progressivement dans l 'aval d 'une vallée sèche de l 'eau prise dans l 'amont d 'une vallée arrosée. On connait de très longs canaux de ce type dans le bassin de l 'Amou Daria, à la frontière afghane ; on peut voir au Tibet des traces de tels vecteurs anciens. HAARH 1969: 123, souligne la mention de ces deux systèmes, qui sont en fait complémentaires en économie de montagne.

[26] L 'épisode est conté notamment dans le *Shiji* (*Mémoires historiques*) de SIMA QIAN. S 'il y a parfois de curieux parallélismes entre certains thèmes tibétains et de vieilles légendes chinoises, il faut se montrer très prudent dans ce domaine, même si certains emprunts ont été prouvés, cf. TAKEUCHI 1985.

[27] *Choix*…, II, pl. 576, l. 497 et 503 : *khre rkyal gang dang* / *yungs 'bru rkyal gang bskur te* / (503) *nas 'bras thang gang skyes (506) pa yang* / *rang tag gchig gi nang du chib bo* /

par point en faisant remarquer qu ’un seul moulin suffit pour tout l ’orge (*nas*) et tout le riz (*’bras*) qui poussent dans la plaine. Le riz ne fait pas partie des cultures pratiquées au Tibet, même si on en trouvait un peu à Dunhuang. Les *Annales* des Tang le notent soigneusement, on l ’a vu. Mais il n ’est pas étonnant qu ’il ait été connu des Tibétains, surtout d ’un Tibétain s ’adressant à un Chinois, sans qu ’il soit possible cependant d ’affirmer que mGar voulut opposer l ’orge tibétaine au riz chinois, considérés comme symboles ethniques ou nationaux.

Il est aussi question du bois, certes pas en termes d ’économie forestière, et dans une forme qui tient davantage de la poésie que de la technique, mais de façon assez précise pour évoquer une préoccupation fréquente. Quand mGar répond à l ’envoyé chinois qu ’une hache suffit à abattre un arbre centenaire,[28] c ’est évidemment une maxime très générale. Plus évocatrice sans doute, quoique répondant de la même série de métaphores, est une phrase du ministre sur l ’incendie des forêts,[29] ou bien son allusion au flottage du bois sur l ’eau.[30]

La nature des documents examinés, parmi ceux qui peuvent concerner directement le Tibet central, *Annales*, *Chronique*, des rituels et quelques textes réglementaires, explique sans doute qu ’il ne soit pas fait beaucoup plus de référence à l ’élevage, en dépit de l ’importance qu ’il a toujours eue pour l ’économie tibétaine, et du nombre de références faites aux animaux, sauvages ou domestiqués.[31] Cependant, en dépit de leur peu de volume statistique, la relative régularité de leur présence témoigne de l ’importance du bétail (au sens large), chose bien normale au Tibet, mais même au niveau des préoccupations de la maison royale. Il y est parfois fait allusion de façon indirecte, parmi les biens attribués par le souverain à un favori

[28] *Choix…*, II, pl. 576, l. 502 : *thang shing lo brgyar skyes (503) pa yang / sta re gchig gi dgra ’o //*

[29] *Choix…*, II, pl. 576, l. 504 : *lung pa gchigi mda ’ nas (505) mye phar chig mched na // ri lung gnyis kyi shing rtsi kun tshig pa yang yod //*

[30] *Choix…*, II, pl. 576, l. 505 : *chu myig gchig gi dngo ’ nas / dba ’ rgal zhig byung na // ri (506) thang gi shing rtsi kun khyer ba yang srid do //*

[31] La chasse, intéressante comme élément d ’appréciation du quotidien, et qui a fait l ’objet, notamment, de travaux de RICHARDSON 1990, ne figure pas, à dessein et pour cette raison, parmi les exemples présentés ici.

ou à un général vainqueur : terres, serfs, pâtures, troupeaux…[32] De fait, ces troupeaux paraissent être une telle évidence que, même si leurs pasteurs sont manifestement marginaux par rapport aux acteurs de la monarchie, sinon à l'ensemble de la société tibétaine du temps, situation qui semble avoir perduré pratiquement jusqu'à nos jours, il en est paradoxalement question dans les très laconiques *Annales*, réservées aux actions essentielles du souverain et de son entourage.

Les *Annales* signalent ainsi une grande épizootie, vers 641 d'après le contexte.[33] Une nouvelle épizootie se produisit en 684 et causa quelques problèmes à mGar bTsan snyan.[34] En 735, à 'O yug, quatre catégories de chevaux furent présentées au roi.[35] Le souci du bétail, et celui des chevaux, pour lesquels la réputation du Tibet était déjà grande, est également attesté, on le sait, par un nombre relativement important de documents découverts à Dunhuang et consacrés à la médecine vétérinaire ou à l'appréciation des chevaux, ainsi qu'à leur sacrifice lors des funérailles.[36]

Mais en dehors des grandes affaires, comme les épidémies ou le dénombrement du bétail, ainsi que l'art vétérinaire, les documents ne sont pas très prolixes. Dans la *Chronique*, la poésie préfère souvent les animaux sauvages, aigle, cerf, hémione, loutre..., aux animaux domestiqués, dans une proportion et dans une formulation assez comparables à celles que l'on retrouve plus tard dans les proverbes, témoignage intéressant de leur origine ancienne. La conscience de la nature et de ses acteurs est forte dans l'expression tibétaine, mais le choix des comparaisons dans la *Chronique* relève d'une organisation sociale hiérarchisée. Les animaux domestiques apparaissent aussi dans ces comparaisons, métaphores, adages ou locutions proverbiales, mais à leur place, qui ne rend pas entièrement compte de leur utilité réelle. La *Chronique* mentionne ainsi une mule, trop

[32] Cf. par exemple, *Choix* …, II, PT 1287, pl. 563, l. 190 et s. et pl. 564, l. 215 et s.

[33] *Choix*…, II, pl. 579, l. 11 : *gnag nad chen po byung* /

[34] *Choix*…, II, pl. 582, l. 36 (IO 750) : *gnag nad chen pho byung ste* /

[35] *Choix*…, II, pl. 589, l. 220 (IO 750).

[36] Cf. notamment PT 1060, divination ; PT 1066, qualités ; PT 1061 à 1065, art vétérinaire ; PT 1136, sacrifices. Cf. aussi BLONDEAU 1972. À propos de l'inhumations de chevaux sacrifiés, le site de mChims lung rtse mo a livré de nombreuses informations qui confirment les sources textuelles, cf. Zhang Zhongli, Wang Wangshen 1985.

chargée, qui s 'est vengée en brisant son bât.[37] Elle mentionne aussi des porcs parqués, symboles d 'une liberté et d 'un statut également réduits,[38] des ovins, en dehors de leur rôle dans les sacrifices, parmi lesquels le bélier[39] a noble figure, puisque le ministre Myang Mang po rje zhang snang est comparé à un bélier dominant le troupeau, tandis que des prisonniers chinois sont comparés, d 'une façon qui paraît universelle, à un troupeau de moutons.[40] La chèvre semble être l 'emblème du pays de Ngas po.[41] Le boeuf apparaît ponctuellement, notamment lors du combat entre le roi Gri gum et Lo ngam, alors qu 'il est fréquemment nommé dans les documents ayant trait aux oasis. Le yak se manifeste surtout dans des locutions proverbiales, du type "se battre comme un yak", ou "manœuvrer comme un yak", en relation avec des combats, les défis du batailleur Gri gum par exemple, ou la querelle de mGar Khri 'bring et du général chinois, il apparaît aussi de façon moins littéraire, dans la réglementation des accidents de chasse.[42] Les vaches croisées, les *mdzo*, figurent surtout dans des documents concernant des sacrifices et rituels funéraires bon po, alors que parmi les Chroniques tardives, le *La dwags rgyal rabs* prend soin de signaler leur introduction qu 'il attribue au règne de l 'aïeul de Srong btsan sgam po.[43] Le rôle du chien n 'est guère évoqué que dans l 'épisode très particulier de la *Chronique* qui a trait à la mort de Lo ngam, mais son importance est confirmée par l 'existence d 'une réglementation concernant ses morsures, qui a fait l 'objet d 'une étude de H.E. RICHARDSON.[44]

PROGRÈS TECHNIQUE, RÉACTION BOUDDHIQUE : CHRONIQUES TARDIVES

Un examen et des relevés analogues ont été faits ou sont en cours pour les constructions, pour les outils, les armes, le textile et

[37] *Choix…*, II, pl. 561, l. 134 : *dre 'u rgal te bse ' sga bchag go*.
[38] *Choix…*, II, pl. 567, l. 283 : *phag dang mtshungs mtshon gyis myi dgar re*, que BACOT 1940–1946: 110, a traduit: "nous ne sommes pas parqués sous l 'aiguillon comme des porcs".
[39] *Choix…*, II, pl. 568, l. 304 : *lug rtug gis sgyu phab ste* /
[40] *Choix…*, II, pl. 570, l. 349 : *rgya btson lug ltar bskyang so '* /
[41] *Choix…*, II, pl. 565, l. 242 : *ngas po ni ra yul gyi....*
[42] RICHARDSON 1990.
[43] PT 126, 1042, 1068, 1285, 1289 et HAARH 1969: 125.
[44] RICHARDSON 1998.

l'habillement, et pour les mesures. Il s'agit de restituer ces éléments, même s'ils sont en nombre modeste, dans la chronologie et les événements précisés par les travaux récents, notamment les découvertes de l'archéologie, mais aussi ceux qui ont trait à l'organisation administrative et sociale de l'empire tibétain, de les comparer avec des terrains voisins et de les éclairer par d'éventuels rapports non tibetains. Il est vrai que les sources concernant cette période sont bien connues et que la limite en est vite atteinte. Les plus sérieux espoirs de précision résident dans l'archéologie, à moins de la découverte, peu probable au Tibet central, d'archives comparables à celles des monastères de Dunhuang et de la région des oasis. De l'examen des composantes de la vie matérielle, on en vient vite, avec les documents dont nous disposons, à l'examen du progrès technique et du progrès des connaissances.

En dehors des acquisitions faites par le biais des contacts plus ou moins pacifiques des Tibétains avec leurs voisins (proches ou plus lointains, sur le versant indien comme dans le creuset de l'Asie centrale et en Chine), un facteur de progrès fut de toute évidence le bouddhisme, par l'accélération qu'il produisit de ce que nous appellerions aujourd'hui le rythme de communication. Le changement de ton, perceptible dans certains textes de la Première Diffusion est manifeste dès le début de la Seconde. La bouddhisation est faite et ses codifications sont en place, même si elles ne résultent pas toutes entièrement de la démarche du bouddhisme. La nature des références est modifiée, même si le procédé des allusions et des métaphores demeure, et le nombre en est multiplié, mais elles ne sont pas davantage aisément reconnaissables. Les catégories du savoir nécessaires au bouddhisme sont mentionnées dans la *Mahāvyutpatti* (début IX^e^ s.) qui a été la base de la classification tibétaine des savoirs en général, essentiellement des techniques, empruntée à l'Inde et organisée en partie par la catégorisation des praticiens, c'est-à-dire d'une manière essentiellement pragmatique et sociale. Mais il est certain que les généalogies et catalogues de l'époque monarchique,[45] la stratification déjà rétrospective des ancêtres politiques, savants ou religieux, le contact avec les classiques chinois, ainsi qu'avec une certaine littérature technique chinoise,

[45] Haarh 1969: 159, catalogues de rois composés par lDan ma rTse mang sur ordre de Sad na legs, et importants pour le *bKa' thang*.

notamment, ont appris aux Tibétains à composer les structures anciennes et les systèmes nouveaux.

L 'assimilation de tant de données de si diverses provenances, ne pouvait manquer de provoquer certaines frictions, les innovations du savoir entrainant des changements de pouvoir et le bouleversement des équilibres traditionnels. Les querelles ne furent certainement pas limitées aux luttes interconfessionnelles, entre bouddhistes et bon po, telles qu 'elles sont décrites par les Chroniques tardives, ou intraconfessionnelles. SHAR RDZA BKRA SHIS RGYAL MTSHAN (1859–1933), à date récente sans doute, mais sur la foi de nombreux textes anciens, a noté que, parmi les réformes de Ral pa can, il y eut une réforme des mesures sur le modèle indien,[46] et le ton de sa phrase n 'est pas celui de l 'approbation.

Un tel radicalisme dans l 'innovation ou la recomposition, s 'étendant à la divination et au calcul astrologique, à la médecine, à l 'écriture, puis à la langue et à la grammaire, à la religion, aux mesures, ou à certaines techniques et certains modes de vie, nécessitait avec le temps des explications, des justifications, une légitimation. Comme notre connaissance de l 'histoire du Tibet s 'appuie en grande partie, et non sans d 'excellentes raisons, sur les Chroniques tardives, notre regard dépend largement du vaste effort de modélisation qu 'elles représentent. Leur apport, même si elles reprennent des trames historiques attestées à Dunhuang (indépendamment des inventaires et contrats), consiste à parler de l 'agriculture, de l 'irrigation, et de divers innovations et progrès en tant que tels, dans un axe mineur mais parallèle à celui du développement du bouddhisme, voire comme l 'un de ses arguments. Leur apport est aussi de donner à toutes choses une origine et une place dans l 'ordre du monde. Les innovations, les réformes, les progrès notés dans les documents de la Seconde Diffusion le sont avec moins d 'emphase, et même avec beaucoup de discrétion dans les *Annales*. Dans la *Chronique*, il faut retenir surtout "l 'invention" du rite funéraire, avec le rachat et l 'ensevelissement du corps de Gri gum, les lois royales assez vaguement mentionnées et enfin

[46] SHAR RDZA BKRA SHIS RGYAL MTSHAN 1985: 225, l.1, ... *tha na bre dang srang dang zhwa la sogs kyang rgya gar dang mthun par bcos* /. KARMAY 1972: 103 : "... even the measures—bushel, ounce and so on—were altered according to the Indian manner."

l 'introduction du bouddhisme, mais qui ne constitue en rien l 'apothéose de l 'oeuvre.

Quelle qu 'ait été l 'histoire de Gri gum et la réalité même du personnage, il est évident que le récit de la *Chronique* avait déjà une valeur symbolique. Son histoire marque, à côté de la glorification épique, une volonté de mémorisation, d 'organisation de la mémoire et nécessairement de la chronologie, qu 'on retrouve dans les Chroniques tardives. Mais là où celles-ci s 'efforcent de relater, en l 'organisant, l 'histoire de la diffusion bouddhique, et de la légitimer, en quelque sorte, c 'est de la légitimation d 'une dynastie, d 'un groupe social, voire d 'un groupe ethnique que se préoccupait la première. Mais le parallélisme s 'arrête aux intentions. Les moyens sont différents.

Les Chroniques tardives racontent les conquêtes du bouddhisme, non celles des rois, elles ne peuvent s 'appuyer sur des combats et des parties de chasse. L 'enchaînement logique qui passe de la formation du monde et de l 'apparition de l 'humanité tibétaine, à l 'apparition des techniques qui assurent sa subsistance, est alors une sorte d 'appropriation. Il ne me semble pas que la tradition bon po, si elle a de superbes descriptions de la naissance du monde et sacrifie à l 'art des généalogies avec un bonheur d 'autant moins égalé qu 'elle évoque aussi des cercles extérieurs au Tibet, contienne de description des premiers progrès matériels des Tibétains. Les chroniques bouddhiques ne décrivent du reste pas toujours cette génèse avec une cohérence parfaite. Le *rGyal rabs gsal ba 'i me long* précise ainsi à la fin de son septième chapitre, consacré au singe et à la démone et à leur descendance, que peu avant la venue du premier roi gNya ' khri btsan po, les plaines furent transformées en champs et que de nombreuses villes furent construites.[47] Mais le même ouvrage précise à propos de l 'apparition de l 'araire, du joug et de l 'irrigation à l 'époque de sPu de gung rgyal, qu 'avant cette découverte, il n 'y avait pas d 'agriculture au Tibet,[48] avec la même fermeté qui fait dire à la plupart des Chroniques tardives qu 'avant Srong btsan sgam po il n 'y avait pas d 'écriture au Tibet.

Devant certaines inadvertances de rédaction ou devant l 'absence de référence à la vie matérielle, la question se pose alors de la validité

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[47] 1982: 54.
[48] 1982: 58 : *de 'i gong na zhing la so nam med.* Cf. SØRENSEN 1994: 147.

réelle du contenu. Il peut paraître curieux, selon les schémas occidentaux ordinaires, que la découverte des minerais et de la fonte des métaux soit mentionnée avant celle du joug et de l'araire, soit avant celle d'une véritable agriculture, comme c'est le cas dans le *rGyal rabs gsal ba 'i me long*, par exemple, dans une séquence qui associe la découverte du charbon, le travail du cuir et la production de la colle de peau, puis la découverte des minerais (fer, cuivre argent, parfois or) et leur transformation, la découverte du joug et de l'araire, enfin de l'irrigation et des ponts. On pourrait dire que, par les progrès mentionnés, cette phase correspond dans ses grandes lignes à la période d'histoire tibétaine couverte par le terme assez vague d'âge du métal, même si elle rend mal compte de la chronologie vraisemblable des "découvertes". On peut en juger d'après des régions périphériques du Tibet, où l'archéologie a sans doute été un peu plus poussée qu'au Tibet central.[49] Ainsi la culture de Qijia, marquée par une dominante agricole, et qui s'est développée au Gansu (oriental et central), au Qinghai oriental et au Ningxia méridional, entre les environs de -2200 et ceux de -1600, représente une transition entre le néolithique et l'âge du bronze. La période a vu une esquisse de métallurgie du cuivre et on a trouvé des outils aratoires en bois qui témoignent du passage de l'agriculture sur brûlis à l'agriculture sur labour, mais ne sont pas encore l'araire ni le joug.[50]

Mais les innovations sont, dans les Chroniques tardives, limitées à un ou deux règnes déterminants, ou bien prolongées un peu artificiellement jusqu'à l'apothéose de Srong btsan sgam po. On peut y voir un certain parallélisme avec la tradition chinoise qui attribue à ses empereurs mythiques, mais à la généalogie précise, l'ensemble des découvertes, de l'agriculture à la domestication des animaux, de la métallurgie à l'écriture, sans oublier le rituel et la divination.[51]

A ma connaissance, ce sont les Chroniques tardives (et encore pas toutes), qui inscrivent l'agriculture dans la liste des découvertes attribuées de façon plus ou moins nette aux premiers souverains

[49] Du moins les publications ont été jusqu'à présent plus abondantes.

[50] En Chine, l'araire serait apparue vers la fin des Royaumes Combattants (403–222).

[51] Ces traditions sont rapportées, notamment, par le *Zhiji* (*Mémoires historiques*), de SIMA QIAN.

tibétains, les quelques documents anciens dont nous disposons à ce jour n 'ont rien de si systématique. D 'ailleurs, si ces descriptions de découvertes tenaient vraiment de la réalité ou d 'une réflexion réellement indépendante, elles mentionneraient en bonne position et bien avant le métal, la découverte et l 'usage de la poterie. Il est vrai que l 'importance de la séquence des découvertes, de même que son caractère répétitif, varient beaucoup selon les Chroniques. Les travaux de la tibétologie ont montré combien elles ont délibérément organisé l 'histoire de la dynastie. Elles se sont incontestablement enrichies de modèles, dans l 'utilisation des symboles comme dans le déroulement des événements. Leur souci s 'est déplacé de la gloire de la dynastie à une perspective universaliste qui place cette dynastie dans le processus bouddhique, dont elle devient un support.

Le souci tibétain de l 'anecdote (plutôt que celui de la vérité historique) a peut-être encouragé ces mêmes Chroniques à noter des innovations mineures au fur et à mesure du récit, en dehors des séquences habituelles de découvertes : on apprend par exemple que le sel fut connu sous gNam ri srong btsan, et que c 'est la première princesse chinoise qui importa l 'art de la céramique (sinon de la poterie...), les moulins à eau (il est vrai attestés largement dans les oasis), les graines de navets, et la façon de préparer le caillé, le beurre et le fromage,[52] chose curieuse si l 'on considère que la Chine ne fait pas en principe partie des “cultures” du lait. De même, elles ont ponctué fortement certaines de ces découvertes, parfois avec une insistance comparable à celle qui semblait réservée à la création de l 'écriture. Ainsi, DPA ' BO GTSUG LAG 'PHRENG BA, après avoir indiqué que sTag ri snyan gzigs, grand-père de Srong btsan sgam po, organisa le système de mesures et le commerce,[53] précise qu '*avant* ce roi il n 'y avait ni mesures ni commerce au Tibet,[54] ce dont on a envie de douter un peu.

Quoiqu 'il en soit, cela conduit à se poser la question des acteurs de ce progrès.

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[52] *rGyal rabs gsal ba 'i me long* 1982: 129, et SØRENSEN 1994: 248.

[53] Pour d 'autres c 'est Srong btsan sgam po, et on a vu plus haut la protestation de Shar rdza quant à la révision “à l 'indienne” de ces mesures par Ral pa can.

[54] *Chos 'byung mKhas pa 'i dga ' ston* 1985: 171, l. 4–6, *de gong bod na tshong dang bre srang med* /. Cf. aussi HAARH 1969: 125.

ACTEURS

La question ne se pose en fait véritablement que pour les Chroniques tardives.

Les artisans réels du développement matériel ne font en effet que des apparitions très discrètes dans les documents anciens dont nous disposons sur le Tibet proprement dit à l 'époque monarchique, ce qui ne facilite pas l 'établissement d 'un panorama social.

Les pasteurs '*brog pa* ne sont pas souvent mentionnés en tant que tels dans ces documents, mais ils le sont parfois, alors que les agriculteurs ne le sont que par le produit de leurs travaux. Ces quelques mentions les montrent manifestement marginaux quant au territoire. Il n 'est pas dit qu 'ils occupent les hauteurs par rapport aux vallées (description trop facile et évidente, basée en partie sur une interprétation erronée de Bacot), mais ils sont mentionnés en général comme à l 'extérieur (*phyi*) du domaine conquis par sPu lde gung rgyal,[55] ce qui pourrait d 'ailleurs être une indication sur la nature de la conquête ou de la reconquête faite par le fils de Gri gum. Les *Annales* signalent des visites et levées de troupes faites chez eux, l 'une par le ministre mGar, en 672,[56] une autre en 693,[57] avant une campagne contre les 'A zha, une autre chez les pasteurs du g.Yo ru, en 709,[58] et, en 746, une levée chez les pasteurs des Ru bzhi, non sans quelque problème, semble-t-il ; le recensement en fut complété l 'année suivante, en 747.[59]

De fait, dans les Chroniques tardives, les acteurs du développement sont désignés : les rois bien sûr, mais aussi des séries de "ministres" et conseillers,[60] chapelains, médecins, spécialistes et officiants divers, en particulier une série de Sept hommes ou "ministres" sages (mDzangs mi bdun, mDzangs blon bdun, Bod

[55] *Choix…*, II, pl. 559, l. 59 : *yul pyi 'brog gdengs myi pyol gyi cha 'o*.

[56] *Choix…*, II, pl. 581, l.7 (IO 750) : *'brog mkhos chen po bgyis /*

[57] *Choix…*, II, pl. 583; l. 64 (IO 750) : *rtsang cen po 'i 'brog bskos nas /*

[58] *Choix…*, II, pl. 585, l. 121 (IO 750) : *g.yo ru 'i brog gyi mkhos bgyis /*

[59] *Choix* …, II, pl. 591, l. 253 et 256 (IO 750) et pl. 592, l. 11 (Or 8212) : ... *ru bzhi 'i 'brog sog gi mkhos bgyis /* (…) *'brog sog gcod pa 'i ring lugs so sor bkye /* (747) et : *'brog sog gi rtsis kyi mjug bcade /* ... (747)

[60] Ainsi nommés ici, provisoirement, pour simplifier l 'abord du problème, bien que la difficulté à définir les diverses catégories d 'assistants du pouvoir, selon les diverses périodes de la monarchie tibétaine (et *a fortiori* après), ait déjà fait l 'objet d 'études savantes (Beckwith, Richardson, Uray, notamment), mais ne soit nullement réglée définitivement.

kyi ’phrul blon mi bdun...), variable, hybride, et qui procède de nombreuses sources, dont certaines sont indéniablement celles du Tibet monarchique.[61] Il y a déjà dans la *Chronique* de Dunhuang (PT 1287, II) des acteurs désignés, même s ’ils ne sont pas liés explicitement aux “découvertes” : dans cette liste de trente-neuf “ministres”, qui commence sous le neuvième successeur de Gri gum, beaucoup sont fort bien connus de l ’histoire. Certains figurent dans les divers Catalogues de principautés trouvés à Dunhuang.

Le troisième de ces “ministres” est désigné par les Chroniques tardives comme le deuxième des “ministres” sages ou inspirés dont le nom est attachés aux “découvertes”. Pour les Chroniques tardives, le premier des Sept Hommes sages est Ru las skyes.[62] C ’est le Ngar la skyes, mentionné par PT 1287 comme fils divin de la reine de Gri gum et intercesseur pour le rachat du corps du roi, donc agent, sinon acteur, du premier rituel funéraire. Selon ces Chroniques, il se chargea également de mettre sPu de gung rgyal sur le trône, comme une sorte de garant de la légitimité royale, et devint “ministre” (parfois roi d ’une principauté voisine). Certaines Chroniques l ’insèrent dans un système de clan (non sans hésitations et obscurités), avec attribution d ’un nouveau nom : celui de Khu bo lHa bu smon gzung,[63] mais il ne figure ni sous un nom ni sous l ’autre dans la liste de PT 1287.[64] Il est désigné par la plupart des Chroniques comme le premier des mDzangs pa ’i mi bdun ou ’Phrul blon mdzangs mi bdun, et associé à la découverte du charbon, de la métallurgie, de l ’agriculture, des ponts...[65] HAARH a beaucoup travaillé le personnage : son lien avec le clan Khu et les surcharges qui sont faites (allusion aux *zhang blon,* etc). Le thème est sans doute l ’un de ceux où les adjonctions ou remaniements des Chroniques tardives peuvent apporter une précision à l ’histoire. Une étude poussée des clans tibétains, de leurs origines comme de leur histoire

[61] La question a été abordée par HAARH 1969 et UEBACH 1987: 23 et suiv., notamment.

[62] Nombreuses variantes de ce nom.

[63] Le *Chos ’byung mkhas pa ’i dga ’ ston* 1985: 163–64, précise : *rgyal pos khu bor khur bas khu ’i rus su thogs skad*... Cf. aussi HAARH 1969: 146–47, et SØRENSEN 1994: n.379.

[64] Le vingt-deuxième nom de cette liste, Khu mang po rje lha zung, le rappelle sans doute, mais ne convient pas comme date.

[65] Par exemple, *Chos ’byung mKhas pa ’i dga ’ ston* 1985: 163–64. Cf. aussi HAARH 1969: 147.

ne pourrait qu 'apporter des éclaircissements sur la nature et le rôle de ces "acteurs". Le fils de Ru las skyes, lHa bu mgo dkar, deuxième des mDzangs pa 'i mi bdun, figure en troisième position sur la liste de PT 1287, où les premiers nommés portent l 'épithète '*dzangs*, souvent confondue avec *mdzangs* dans les Chroniques tardives.

Plusieurs catégories de "ministres" ont été décrites ou mentionnées dans les Chroniques,[66] parfois accompagnées de listes de noms, et les travaux de la tibétologie ont déjà apporté beaucoup d 'éclaircissements à ce sujet. La tradition bon po, qui ne parle pas à ma connaissance des "découvertes" matérielles, du moins sous cette forme, nomme cependant à côté des rois un grand nombre de catégories de spécialistes, religieux ou savants, de gardes du corps et de "ministres". Elle insiste, comme les Chroniques bouddhiques d 'ailleurs, sur les pouvoirs magiques de certains d 'entre eux. Assez curieusement, tant en ce qui concerne certains des "ministres" mentionnés dans PT 1287, que certains des mDzangs pa 'i mi bdun des Chroniques, c 'est le pouvoir singulier ou magique qui est retenu, plutôt que la participation à un progrès matériel ou à un progrès du savoir. On a dès lors affaire à des auteurs d 'exploits, plus proches du récit épique que du récit historique. On le voit par exemple dans les descriptions de la contestation de Brag dmar 'grin bzang.[67] Il est vrai que c 'est encore un affrontement de pouvoirs magiques qui, bien plus tard, départagea dit-on les Sa skya pa et les bKa ' brgyud pa à la cour mongole. Il n 'en reste pas moins que la fonction de ces Sept sages est irrégulièrement décrite, entre le progrès matériel et la magie, parfois avec une tendance à la confusion, qui a pu être délibérée dans certains cas. On peut peut-être y voir l 'esquisse d 'une sorte de répartition des tâches entre le roi et le "ministre", créations spirituelles ou rituelles d 'un côté, innovations matérielles de l 'autre. Il règne entre ces catégories une ambiguïté due en partie au génie narratif des Tibétains, multiplicateur d 'images et d 'épisodes, mais aussi à la variété des sources utilisées, tibétaines ou non.[68]

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[66] Par exemple par le *Blon po bka ' thang*, avec ses *gung blon*, *spyi blon*, *dbang blon*, *nang blon*, *bka ' blon*, et cf. HAARH 1969: 165.

[67] SHAR RDZA BKRA SHIS RGYAL MTSHAN 1985: 209–10 ; KARMAY 1972: 88–89.

[68] Il faut noter à nouveau, à ce propos, une apparente difficulté à faire coïncider parfois des structures de modèles chinois avec la tradition tibétaine.

L ’importance fonctionnelle donnée par les Chroniques tardives au progrès matériel peut tenir des variantes du récit, elle est d ’abord partie d ’une leçon et est inscrite dans le long effort d ’édification (et d ’appropriation) qui marque le développement du bouddhisme au Tibet. Mais il est certain que toutes les Chroniques et les commentaires n ’y attachent pas le même intérêt, et que certains, parmi les plus respectés, n ’abordent pas la question. Elle est pourtant une clé intéressante pour la compréhension des structures et des traditions du Tibet ancien.

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TIBETAN OFFICIALS IN THE 8TH-CENTURY SOUTH-EASTERN PART OF THE EMPIRE*

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Towards the end of the 7th and the beginning of the 8th century Tibet gained control over the region bordering her empire in the south-east. This is the region where the great rivers, the Salween, the Mekong and the Yangtse flow south in steep, almost parallel, valleys and it also comprises the adjacent region to the south. In Tibetan this region is sometimes referred to by the ethnic names of the Black and White Myva (Wu Man 烏蠻 and the Bei Man 白蠻), and sometimes as 'Jang. Later on this name is also applied to the allied Nan-zhao 南詔 kingdom.

Research in the history of this region in general is based on Chinese sources.[1] A comprehensive study including earlier research was published in 1981 by CHARLES BACKUS: *The Nan-chao Kingdom and T'ang China's Southwestern Frontier*. Though Backus did also include information from the Old Tibetan Annals and the Old Tibetan Chronicle, Tibetan names from Chinese sources were not identified. From the point of view of Tibetan studies this state of affairs is not very satisfactory, and an attempt is therefore made here first to identify the Tibetan officials named in the inscription of Tai he. Secondly, the officials in the Tibetan inscription recently found at Guozi will be discussed.

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* I would like to thank Prof. Dr Herbert Franke for kindly helping me with the Chinese. Without his assistance I could not have undertaken the identification of the Tibetan names. Any faults in reconstructing the Tibetan names, however, are mine. Further, I thank Armin Selbitschka MA for typing the Chinese characters.

[1] E.g. PARKER 1890 and 1892; ROCHER 1899; STOTT 1963.

I. TIBETAN OFFICIALS IN THE TAI HE INSCRIPTION

The inscription was set up by the Nan zhao ruler Ge luo 閣羅鳳 (r. 748–779) in 766 in his then capital Tai he,[2] situated about 5 km to the south of present-day Dali. It is still *in situ*, with the the huge boulder on which it figures now sheltered in a building. The inscription had already been badly damaged centuries ago when Chinese scholars took copies. Its front bears the main inscription. On the back an enumeration of officials and their titles is given. The inscription is quoted according to the edition[3] and translation of ÉDOUARD CHAVANNES (1900: 381–450).

1. Lunruozan 論若贊 (Inscr. Va4), (GRS 470b li̯uĕn –777a ńźiak – 153a tsan)

The name is not a full name but of the abbreviated type of *thabs* 'title' or 'rank' and *mkhan/ming,* 'special designation'/'personal name'.[4] In my view the name could correspond to *blon* Zha-gtsan (or: btsan) or Sha-gtsan. However, Pelliot[5] renders *ruo* 若 by Tibetan *rje*, which leads to the name *blon* rJe-gtsan.[6] Tibetan names in Zha are attested,[7] but they could hardly be abbreviated in a way that results in Zha-gtsan. It may also be considered that Chinese *ruo* perhaps corresponds to

[2] Scholars agree that Ge luo feng, who was brought up at the Chinese court had set up the inscription to prove that his "breach with China was not of his own choosing, but was forced upon him", e.g. STOTT 1963: 193.

[3] The text of the inscription is reproduced on pp. 391–95, I–X.

[4] On the types of Tibetan names and titles, see URAY 1966 and RICHARDSON 1967.

[5] Pelliot 1961: 147, s.v. Tsan-si-jo.

[6] So far an official with this name is unknown. As to the problem of the transcription of Tibetan *zha* and *ja* in Chinese, compare also DEMIÉVILLE 1952: 281, n. 6 on *bzher* and *rje*.

[7] OTA year 731: Zha-nga thang-rtsan (I.O. 750, l. 210). In a historiographic text quoting the original document, we find among the officials who swore the oath on the first edict of Khri Srong-lde-brtsan one *nang-blon* Zha-nga Khri-gnyen (DPA' 109b6). There are three further officials who are reported as having sworn the oath on the edict of Khri lDe-srong-brtsan's foundation of sKar-chung: Zha-nga gcan-stag-lod, Zha-nga gsas-btsan and Zha-nga mu-gnyen (DPA' 130a6, 130a7 and 130b4).

Tibetan *sha*. The name of a *blon* Shad (or: Shang)-btsan is transmitted[8] and as to the date, it is in accordance with the inscription.

The office which this *blon* held was *yushi* 御史, which means censor or inspector. He was probably in charge of collecting the tribute imposed since the time of Khri 'Dus-srong. According to the inscription he resided in Langqiong [zhao] 浪穹[詔], which is actually not a place name but the name of a tribe of the Bai Man who had fled to a region situated to the south-west of the great bend of the Yangtse river.

At a date between 748 and 751, the inscription informs us, there were a great number of Tibetan soldiers stationed in Langqiong, obviously at the disposal of this *blon.* It was to him that the Nan-zhao ruler Ge luo feng turned for military assistance in his troubles with the Chinese at Yaozhou 姚州. This event marked Ge luo feng's change in alliance from China to Tibet.

2. Yixiangyele 一祥葉樂 (Inscr. Vb2-3), (GRS 1f' 'iĕ – 732n z̑iang – 633d i̭äp – 1125a lâk)

This Chinese name corresponds to Tibetan Khri-bzang yab-lag, known from the fragmentary Old Tibetan Annals II in the years 755–756 and 758–759 under the *thabs* and *mkhan* type of name as *blon* Khri-bzang. His Chinese title is *zuoxiang* 左相, 'councillor of the Left', which corresponds to *blon*. He was promoted in 764/765 to *blon c(h)e*, great councillor.[9] His full name[10] is provided by the Old Tibetan Chronicle as mGos Khri-bzang yab-lag.[11]

Prior to 752[12] the inscription reports that the *blon* Khri-bzang yab-lag went to the Nan-zhao court by order of the *btsan-po* (i.e. Khri lDe-gtsug-brtsan) taking along precious presents. Thus an earlier mission headed by Ge luo feng's son Fengjiayi 鳳伽異 and the highest ranking Nan-zhao councillor Duan Zhongguo 段忠國 to Tibet was reciprocated. A lengthy account of the visit of the latter is also

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[8] He is mentioned in the quotation from an original document (see preceding footnote). He was an official during the reign of Khri Srong-lde-brtsan (DPA' 109b6).
[9] OTA II, B.M.Or. 8212, ll. 13, 21, 32, 35, 37 and 60.
[10] *rus, mkhan* and *ming.*
[11] OTC, PT 1287, l. 113.
[12] The event most probably took place in 751, because it is the last mentioned before the year 752. Thus with the help of the Tai he inscription it is possible to date the events recounted in OTC.

preserved in the Old Tibetan Chronicle.[13] It provides the Tibetan name of the Nan-zhao councillor as Dvan-cung-kog.[14]

On the occasion of these reciprocal visits the alliance between the Tibetan *btsan-po* and Nan-zhao ruler was officially enacted and sworn. In consequence in 752, according to the inscription, Ge luo feng received a document from the *btsan-po* conferring on him the title *zanpu zhong* 贊普鐘, which renders Tibetan *btsan-po-chung*, '*btsan-po* younger brother'.[15] Fengjiayi was appointed *duzhibingma dajian* 度支兵馬大將, 'great manager of horses and soldiers'[16] and he received a certificate in turquoise. From Tibet's point of view Nan-zhao had become a vassal state obliged to join her military forces.

In 752 Ge luo feng changed the reign title and the first year of the era *zanpu zhong* 'btsan-po younger brother' started.

3. Lun Quanlixu 論絢里徐 (Inscr. 6a2), (GRS 470b li̯uĕn – 1b' k'ji̭ẹ - 978a lji – 82p zi̭wo)

This official can be identified as *blon* Khri-gzigs for the following reasons. Khri-gzigs is the *mkhan* type of a name which may apply to different persons. In both Tang Annals a Tibetan official named Qilixu 乞力徐 is attested. Pelliot[17] tentatively identified him as "Khri-gzu ?". Though the first two characters of this official differ in the Tang Annals and the Tai he inscription, their pronunciation is identical: Qilixu: GRS 517f k'i̭ət – GRS 928a li̯ek – 82p ziwo. Fortunately for the events and names referred to in the Tang Annals there is a corresponding version in the Old Tibetan Annals. The first textual attestation of Qilixu[18] is given in the year 714. For the same year the Old Tibetan Annals[19] provide the name *blon chen po* Khri-gzigs. His full name[20] was dBa's Khri-gzigs zhang-nyen. He was appointed Great councillor in 705 and died in 721. He is mentioned several times in the Old Tibetan Annals.

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[13] OTC, PT 1287, ll. 343–65.

[14] OTC, PT 1287, l. 350.

[15] Compare also OTC, PT 1287, l. 345: *thabs gcung stsal te* "he granted the title younger brother".

[16] The corresponding Tibetan term is perhaps *dmag-dpon.*

[17] Pelliot 1961: 145, s.v. Ki-li-siu.

[18] Pelliot 1961: 15.

[19] PT 1288, ll. 145–46.

[20] The type of the name is *rus, mkhan, ming.*

The second textual attestation in the Tang Annals for the year 736[21] refers to a general Qilixu. The Old Tibetan Annals do not provide the name of a general in the same year. However, in the year 711[22] it is reported that one Chog-ro Khri-gzigs gnang-kong[23] convoked the assembly of mDo-smad. In the years 721–724 he is called *blon* Khri-gzigs gnang-k(h)ong.

It is unlikely that one of these two different persons with the same *mkhan* type of name, Khri-gzigs, is identical with the Khri-gzigs of the Tai he inscription, but by these textual attestations corresponding in the Tang Annals and in the Old Tibetan Annals, it can be deduced with certainty that Chinese Qilixu and Quanlixu both render Tibetan Khri-gzigs.

The *blon* Khri-gzigs of the Tai he inscription is mentioned in the year 753 with the title *duzhibingma shi* 'commander of horses and soldiers for China' 都知兵馬使. Together with the Nan-zhao forces he besieged and destroyed a prefecture in the vicinity of Yaoshou. In the year 754 the Chinese menaced the Nan-zhao town of Dengchuan 澄川, north of the lake Dali. In a strategy coordinated with the Tibetans, the Nan-zhao army had retreated into the town. The Chinese army was then simultaneously attacked from the front from within town and from the rear by the Tibetan forces with *blon* Khri-gzigs in command. The Chinese army was completely destroyed.

4. Zanglangluo 贊郎羅 (Inscr. Vib4), (GRS 153a tsân – 735r lâng – 6a lâ)

The name may correspond to Tibetan b/rTsan-lang-sgra. His Chinese title is *yushi* 'censor' or 'inspector'. Because of the similarity in title with the abovementioned official stationed in Langqiong, it may be assumed that he, too was stationed in the border region. There is no Tibetan attestation of the name.

According to the inscription he served as a messenger, who in 756 delivered a message of the *btsan-po* ordering the Nan-zhao ruler to join the Tibetan forces in the attack of Suizhou 嶲州.

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21 Pelliot 1961: 23–24, 103–104.
22 I.O. 750, l. 131.
23 See preceding footnote.

5. Shang Jianzan 尚檢贊 (Inscr. VIb8)

This name corresponds to Tibetan Zhang sTong-rtsan only by the conjecture in the character *jian* 檢 which should be *tong* 橦. This conjecture is only possible because of the corresponding entry in the Old Tibetan Annals[24] which corroborates the identification: “The armies of *blon* Khri-bzang, Zhang sTong-rtsan and Kag-la-bong took Se-chu (= Suizhou)”.

In the inscription he is mentioned in the year 756 together with Khri-bzang yab-lag (s. above no. 2). His title was *jiedu* 節度, ‘regional military commander’. He took part in the attack of Suizhou.

6. Qijiliru 欺急歷如 (Inscr. VIIa4), (GRS 952q k’ji – 681g ki̯əp – 858e liek – 94g ńźiwo)

It is difficult to reconstruct the corresponding Tibetan name. It might be necessary to make a conjecture, but I am not in a position to do so.

In 757 the inscription mentions that a Tibetan envoy whose name is not provided, arrived with a message of the *btsan-po* saying that Kag-la-bong has to coordinate his military actions in attacking the Chinese in Sichuan with this official Qijiliru. He has the title *jiangjun* 將 軍 ‘general’ which corresponds to Tibetan *dmag-dpon*.

The Tang Annals do not provide the name of a Tibetan general in the entry of this year. The Old Tibetan Annals II for this year only report victories in the north-east.

Unless it is assumed that the Chinese rendering Qijiliru for the name of a Tibetan general refers to a person not attested in Tibetan sources at all, there are two names which may be considered as a hypothesis when making a conjecture. One is Zhang rGyal-zigs. His full name was mChims Zhang rGyal-zigs shu-teng, attested in the Old Tibetan Annals.[25] He was called Zhang rGyal-zigs *chen-pho*, i.e. ‘the great’ because of his outstanding military success in the north-east, sometimes achieved together with Zhang sTong-rtsan (see above no. 5), and above all for capturing the Chinese capital. He was rewarded with the highest ranking certificate—turquoise—in 763/4.

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[24] OTA, B.M.Or. 8212, ll. 21–22.
[25] OTA II, B.M.Or. 8212, ll. 15–59.

The other name which could perhaps be considered is *blon* Khri-sgra [stag-tshab] who in the years 755 and 759–763 was active in mDo-smad.[26]

II. THE TIBETAN INSCRIPTION OF GUOZI[27]

The inscription was found in the course of road construction work near the village of Guozi, situated about 35 km to the north of the great bend of the Yangtse. It is unique and of outstanding importance because of the evidence of the use of Tibetan language in the 8th century south-eastern region of the empire. It is now kept in the Lijiang Dongba Cultural Museum, Yunnan.

The epitaph was set up for a certain Long-la-dag of mTsho-rum, who had died at the age of ninety. He had originally been a Chinese subject but had changed alliance in favour of the *btsan-po lha sras*. He paid homage to the *blon* sKyes-bzang. His title was *gtsang-chen* and he was a holder of a golden certificate.

7. *blon* sKyes-bzang
His name is given in the *mkhan* form, which leaves three possibilities for identification:[28]

a) 'Bal sKyes-bzang ldong-tsab
He held office in the reign of Khri lDe-gtsug-btsan (r. 705-755) from 729 onward[29] and was disgraced in 755.[30]
b) sKyes-bzang rgyal-kong
He held office from 756 to his death in 757.[31]
c) dBa's sKyes-bzang stag-snang
His full name is provided in the Old Tibetan Chronicle.[32] In the Old Tibetan Annals he is mentioned in the years 758, 758 and 761.[33]

[26] OTA II, B.M.Or. 8212, ll. 14, 37, 40, 48 and 57.
[27] Photograph in Wang Yao 2001 and also in Li Xi 2003.
[28] Compare also Ohara 2003: 203–204.
[29] OTA, I.O. 750, l. 201.
[30] His conspiracy and probably murder of the *btsan-po* is mentioned in the Zhol inscription; see Beckwith 1983: 1.
[31] OTA II, B.M.Or. 8212, ll. 18–19 and 25.
[32] OTC, PT 1287, l. 378.
[33] OTA I, B.M.Or. 8212, ll. 32, 36 and 44.

The official to which the inscription refers cannot be determined. Because of the paleographic evidence of the inscription, however, a date from the second half of the 8th century, the year 800 at the latest, is evident.

8. Long-la-dag of mTsho-rum

The inscription indicates that he was a local chieftain who had become a high ranking official in service of the Tibetans. Though it is not stated precisely what his office was, it must have been quite important,[34] because he is called *gser-chen-po* 'holder of a certificate in gold'. This certificate is second in rank after the certificate in turquoise, which ranks highest.
His title was *gtsang-c(h)en*. This title is so far known from only two documents issued in Central Asia at the time of Tibetan occupation and is generally taken for a lower title.

The first document deals with hunting accidents.[35] The *gtsang-chen* are enumerated after the holders of certificates in turquoise, gold etc. and they themselves are obviously not certificate-holders. As for the penalties enumerated, the fines are degressive: in case of casualties of a holder of a certificate in turquoise the figure is 1000, while that for a holder of a certificate in gold is less, and so on down. The fine in case of a *gtsang-chen* is 300. This leaves no doubt that the *gtsang-chen* ranks on the lower end of the scale.[36]

The second document is a demand of officials concerning grades and titles.[37] In this text three interesting details may be observed. First, the grade of *gtsang-chen-pa* was abolished. Second, only those who are (that is, had hitherto been) *gtsang-chen,* received a reward in addition to their office or rank. Third, only two *gtsang-chen* are enumerated and both have Chinese names: in other words, they are not Tibetans.

These results on the one hand seem to contradict the statement of the inscription that the *gtsang-chen* was also the holder of a certificate in gold. On the other hand there is a common pattern to be observed, too. The local chieftain honoured in the inscription was not a Tibetan.

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[34] It was probably a military office since the holders of certificates in gold are often *dmag-dpon*s.

[35] PT 1071 and PT 1072; cf. Richardson 1990.

[36] See also Dotson 2004: 81–82.

[37] PT 1089; cf. Lalou 1955.

In this context, one may ask what the meaning of this title/rank is. Translated literally it is ‘pure/clear + great’. Interestingly there is a Chinese title *qing ping guan* 清平官 ‘integer and just official’, but also *qing guan* 清官 ‘integer official’ is attested elsewhere. The basic meaning of Chinese *qing* like Tibetan *gtsang* is ‘pure’, ‘clear’.

On the very fragmentary inscription of Tai he, at the back side, after the highest ranking councillor Duang Zhongguo, there follows an official whose name is not preserved. His title, however, is ‘integer and just official, great general, holder of a golden certificate, rewarded with a robe of brocade with a golden belt’.[38] This is strongly reminiscent of the *gtsang-chen* who, in addition to an office, received a reward.[39]

In my view, therefore, the Tibetan title *gtsang-chen* is likely to have been modeled on the Chinese *qing ping guan* or *qing guan* and was specifically created to honour Non-Tibetans as ‘great integer officials [in the service of the *btsan-po*]’. In the inscription of Guozi for the first time, this title is attested for a holder of a certificate, namely for a high ranking ‘holder of a golden certificate’.

As a result of the above attempt to identify the Tibetans, it may be summed up, that only the names of six Tibetan officials are attested in the Tai he inscription. Only some of them can be identified with certainty. Two more officials are named in the inscription of Guozi. However, at least it can be stated that out of these altogether eight Tibetan officials there are: one great councillor in a diplomatic mission (no. 2), three high ranking, non-resident officials engaged in military campaigns (no. 3, 5, 6), one high ranking local chieftain (no. 8) and three officials (no. 1, 4 and 7) who were stationed in the region. Their office was *yushi* 御史 ‘censor’, ‘inspector’ (no. 1 and 4) which most probably corresponds to Tibetan *spyan*[40] or *spyan-chen-po*.[41]

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[38] I am grateful to Prof. Franke for consulting the following source, for which unfortunately I cannot quote the Chinese characters: Wang Ch’ang (1724–1806): *Chin-shih ts’ui-pien.* Shanghai 1893. First print 1805, ch. 160, 11b–13a. On this text compare also Stott 1963: 193, who presents the Chinese characters, and for those of the title see p. 197.

[39] Compare fn. 35.

[40] On this title see Lalou 1955: 37.

[41] The Old Tibetan Chronicle preserves a short account, dating from the late 8th or early 9th century, where a *spyan-chen-po* in south-eastern Tibet called Nying-rim and others have been punished (OTC, PT 1287, l. 395).

Finally it must be said, that details of Tibetan administration of the south-eastern region are hard to obtain because Tibetan finds comparable to the rich finds of manuscript remains in Central Asia, with the exception of the inscription of Guozi, do not seem to have been preserved.

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B.M.Or.8212	Plts. 592–95, s. SPANIEN and IMAEDA 1979
dPa'	s. LOKESH CHANDRA
GRS	*Grammata Serica Recensa*, s. KARLGREN
I.O. 750	Plts. 581–91, s. SPANIEN and IMAEDA 1979
JA	*Journal Asiatique*, Paris
OTA	Old Tibetan Annals
OTC	Old Tibetan Chronicle
PT 1071	Plts. 378–402, s. SPANIEN and IMAEDA 1979; IMAEDA *ET AL.* 2007
PT 1072	Plts. 403–13, s. SPANIEN and IMAEDA 1979; IMAEDA *ET AL.* 2007
PT 1089	Plts. s. LALOU 1955; IMAEDA *ET AL.* 2007
PT 1287	Plts. 557–77, s. SPANIEN and IMAEDA 1979
PT 1288	Plts. 579–80, s. SPANIEN and IMAEDA 1979
TP	*T'oung Pao*, Leiden (Brill)

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ORGANISATION OF THE CHINESE INHABITANTS IN TIBETAN-RULED DUNHUANG[1]

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Despite the fact that few manuscripts related to the local society of Tibetan-ruled Dunhuang have been published, a large number of historical and administrative documents, in Tibetan and Chinese, still exist that deserve to be studied.

Our purpose here is to examine critically the organisation of the local Chinese inhabitants in Tibetan-ruled Dunhuang[2] and to analyse the administrative system created by the Tibetan Empire, and to present a comprehensive view of the basic organisational structure.

1. PREVIOUS STUDIES AND THE PROBLEM

FUJIEDA (1961) is the landmark study on Tibetan-ruled Dunhuang. Subsequent studies have been more or less based on this framework. According to Fujieda's theory, the Chinese inhabitants of Tibetan-ruled Dunhuang were divided into three basic parts: 'military districts', 'civil districts' (districts that have a specific function) and 'religious districts'.[3] After emendation with recent studies[4] this structure of the Tibetan administrative system has been accepted.

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[1] The present article is largely adapted from IWAO (2003 in Japanese). I would like to thank Prof. Christopher Beckwith and Prof. Tsuguhito Takeuchi for valuable comments and advice. I also wish to thank the members of the Central Asiatic Forum (Osaka/Kobe) for valuable comments. This research has been financially supported by the Old Tibetan Document Online (leader: Hoshi Izumi) of the Center of Excellence (COE) project at the Institute of Asian and African Studies of the Tokyo University of Foreign Studies.

[2] Namely, 786–848. As for the dating of the beginning of the Tibetan domination over Dunhuang, see UEYAMA 1990: 25–32. HORLEMANN 2002 has a quite different opinion about the dating.

[3] FUJIEDA 1961: 226–40.

[4] Major corrections are as follows:

– *Daomen qinbiao buluo* 道門親表部落: JIANG (1986) pointed out that it was 'the district of Daoist priests'.

Although Fujieda himself did not specifically mention this division,[5] the former two parts of this division, namely 'military districts' and 'civil districts' (districts that have a specific function) could correspond to the *rgod-g.yung* divisions, the 'military and civil' system of the Old Tibetan Empire.[6] As for the religious division, at this time I have no idea whether it was an additional system characterising the Dunhuang area as a 'Buddhist town', or if such a division originally came from Central Tibet. The main concern of this study is to re-examine the *rgod* and *g.yung* groups in Dunhuang. First, I would like to discuss *xingren buluo* 行人部落, 'the district of *xingren*', which has been believed to belong to the *g.yung* or 'civil' group.

2. *XINGREN BULUO* AND *NYAN RNA'I SDE*

Fujieda considered *xingren buluo* to be the district which had the responsibility for transport and post. According to him, the terms *xingren buluo* in Chinese documents and *nyan rna'i sde* in a Tibetan document are equivalent, because the meaning of the Tibetan term *nyan rna* is normally translated as 'messenger',[7] and one of the meanings of the Chinese term *xingren* 行人 is 'passenger'. His idea about *xingren buluo* has been accepted by scholars for about fifty

– *snying tsoms gyi sde*: While Fujieda pointed out the existence of two military districts, i.e. the *stong sar* and *rgod sar* districts, TAKEUCHI (1994: 849) noted three *stong sde,* i.e. *rgod sar, stong sar, snying tsoms*, cf. TAKEUCHI 1995: 131. YAMAGUCHI 1981: 23–24; 1982: 11–12 presented a different idea about the three military districts, but this cannot be supported. See IWAO 2003: 10–14.

– *bosan buluo* 擘三部落: Fujieda's idea to identify *bosan buluo* with *phyug tsams gyi sde* has been accepted by many scholars, but YANG (1986: 366) pointed out that *bosan buluo* is not a proper noun but means 'dividing into three districts'. Yang's idea has been confirmed by TAKEUCHI 1994: 858 n.11.

[5] Fujieda did not know about the existence of the *rgod-g.yung* system at the time he wrote his study because this system only became well-known in academic circles thanks to the publication of Uray's article in 1971.

Concerning *tsha shod gyi sde*: Fujieda suggests that *shang buluo*上部落 is the Chinese translation of *tsha shod gyi sde*, but YAMAGUCHI (1981: 33, 45 n.153) points out that there is no evidence to support his suggestion.

[6] See URAY 1971.

[7] THOMAS 1951: 52.

years and has not been re-examined in spite of the fact that in his article Fujieda himself admitted that there is no clear evidence for it.[8]

As far as I know, the only source of information about *nyan rna* district is a Tibetan paper document discovered at Mīrān, M.I.xxviii.0036. Fujieda's theory about *nyan rna* district must derive from it.

> *pho nya ring lugs ltang sogs 'dong phreng 'dor dgu dang ngo mkhan […] spyugs myi sde cog stod gyi sde mog kyem po dang nyan rna'i sde bong la ku gnyis / tshal byi'i nob chungu […] gar slebs slebs su snyegs shing / kva cu khar tsan yan chad du mchis ste /*
> Messengers who are *ring lugs* and porter 'Dong phreng 'dor dgu and the guide […] must take (*snyegs*—lit. 'pursue') two banished men, Mog莫 kyem po of *cog stod* district and Bong彭 la ku of *nyan rna* district, [from] Little Nob of the Tshal byi [*khrom*—'military government'[9]] wherever they may reach, to [the place] as east as Guazhou瓜州 [*khrom*] and Liang zhou涼州 (*khar tsan*) [*khrom*].
> (M.I.xxviii.0036 ll.1–3)[10]

This document relates to the postal system of the Old Tibetan Empire as Thomas has pointed out.[11] Fujieda followed Thomas' interpretation that *nyan rna* district might be the messenger district based on the meaning of *nyan rna*, and claimed that two people who belonged to *nyan rna* district and *cog stod* district were the leaders of the messengers band.[12] However, the text clearly indicates that they were not 'leaders' as Fujieda claimed,[13] but 'banished men' (*spyug myi sde*) taken to Little Nob by messengers. *Cog stod* district is apparently a military district because of its typical name.[14] Therefore,

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[8] FUJIEDA 1961: 236–37.

[9] See URAY 1980.

[10] I only cite the relevant part of the document. For the translation of the entire document, see THOMAS 1951: 51–52 for reproduction and transcription, see TAKEUCHI 1997–98 vol.1, 2, No. 613.

[11] THOMAS 1951: 52. Also, ZHANG (1982) presents the same type of document housed at Dunhuangxian wenhuaguan 敦煌縣文化館.

[12] FUJIEDA 1961: 236–37.

[13] THOMAS 1951: 51 translates the relevant passage as "messenger….must *follow* a company of banished man, …". Translating *snyegs* as "follow" appears to be mistaken, and perhaps explains why Fujieda believed them to be the leaders.

[14] The most common name form of the military district consists of a place name followed by either *stod* or *smad.* See the list of military districts in THOMAS 1951: 455–70; IWAO 2000: 8–9, 18–19.

despite the fact that the document relates to the postal system, it cannot be said that *nyan rna* district also relates to the postal system.

Furthermore, the document was discovered in Mīrān, not Dunhuang, so there is no reason for locating *nyan rna* district in Dunhuang.

Meanwhile, *xingren buluo* appears in some Dunhuang Chinese documents,[15] but there was no indication of its function at the time when Fujieda wrote his theory, thus Fujieda must have inferred its function from the meanings of the Chinese term *xingren.* However, fifty years later, more documents have been discovered contributing new and interesting data. In this respect a Chinese document from Dunhuang, Dx1462+P.ch.3829,[16] is most useful in determining the exact meaning of *xingren buluo*.

The document is a memorial record for a Tibetan official, *lun* (= *blon*) Dongbozang 論董勃藏, who rebuilt a decayed temple in Dunhuang, and his title is found in the first line. Although the end of the line is missing, there is also a similar passage in the eleventh line.

> 1]大蕃古**沙州行人三部落**兼防御兵馬及行營留 […]
> Head of the three districts of *xingren*, defense commander, alias capital liaison commander […] of Shazhou 沙州 (= Dunhuang) in the Tibetan Empire.
> 11]敕補充**沙州三部落**兼防御兵馬行營留後大監軍使、授大鍮石告身
> [the *btsan po*] ordered [*blon* Donbozang] to assume the title as head of the three districts, defense commander, alias capital liaison commander of Shazhou, and the great inspector, with the rank of great brass.

A comparison of the two passages reveals a small but important difference: *xingren san buluo* 行人三部落*,* 'three districts of *xingren*', in the first line corresponds with *san buluo* 三部落*,* 'three districts', in the eleventh line. *San buluo* in the latter must be an

[15] As far as I know, it appears in S.1475v6, S.1864, P.t.1100 and Dx.1462+P.ch.3829.

[16] Dx.1462 and P.ch.3829 were originally a single document, but it was horizontally split into two fragments, and is now separately stored in St. Petersburg and the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. They were reconnected by Li Zhengyu in 1997. The reproductions are found in *DMRu* vol. 8: 192 and in *DMFr* vol. 28: 258 respectively. The full text is found in LI 1997.

abbreviation of *xingren san buluo*. It should be noted that the Chinese term *san buluo*, a special term in Tibetan-ruled Dunhuang, means 'three military districts', namely, the *stong sar, rgod sar,* and *snying tshoms* districts, which were composed of Chinese inhabitants,[17] and that one of the meanings of *xingren* is 'soldier'.[18] So we can determine that *xingren san buluo* means 'three military districts', and that the expression *xingren buluo* is a generic term for 'military district'.

Furthermore, it may be noted that the term corresponds to the Tibetan expression *rgod kyi sde* 'military district'.[19] As Yamaguchi has noted, *rgod kyi sde* is a generic term for a military district in general.[20] It must be the original underlying Chinese *xingren buluo*. Therefore, I conclude that the Chinese expression *xingren buluo* means 'military district' and that it is a translated form of the Tibetan term *rgod kyi sde.*

3. RGOD KYI SDE AND DAR PA'I SDE

As shown above, the generic term *rgod kyi sde* in Dunhuang was translated into Chinese as *xingren buluo.* So when considering the *rgod-g.yung* system in the Tibetan Empire, there also had to be a *g.yung gi sde* in Dunhuang. However, as far as I know, the term *g.yung gi sde* never appears in the Dunhuang documents.

On the other hand, we may note that *dar pa'i sde* always appears with *rgod kyi sde* in Old Tibetan documents, and *simian buluo* 絲綿部落 also appears along with *xingren buluo* in Chinese documents. For instance, in P.t.1166, there is a passage as follows:

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[17] See TAKEUCHI 1994, 849; 1995, 131.

[18] Generally speaking, in the middle of the eighth century, a soldier called *xingren*, as is seen in Dufu 杜甫's famous poem, *Bingchexing* 兵車行 (*Dufu*, vol.14: 252). On the other hand, in Dunhuang manuscripts there are the group of manuscripts called *xingren zhuantie* 行人轉帖, 'circulation of *xingren*', and the meaning of *xingren* in these cases has been disputed among scholars. NABA 1944 said that they were 'night guards'. JIANG 1979 suggested that they were self-guardians of a merchant association. ISHIDA 1981 followed Jiang's suggestion. Note that TOHI 1995: 732 pointed out that *xingren* in tenth century Dunhuang related to the soldier.

[19] It appears in P.t.1166, P.t.1294, P.t.1598 and IOL Tib J 1240.

[20] YAMAGUCHI 1981: 32.

Blon mtsho bzher gyis dar pa'i sde dang rgod kyi sde gnyis gyis[21] *khral pon la spring ngo.*
Blon mTsho bzher sends [a letter] to the tax levy officers of *dar pa'i sde* and *rgod kyi sde*.

Another example is found in IOL Tib J 1240 (= Ch.75.iii.3 = vol.56, fol.39), which is a list of nuns together with the districts to which they belonged.[22] In the various districts, there are *rgod kyi sde* and *dar pa'i sde.* An example in the Chinese document, S.5824, shows that *simian buluo* apparently appeared along with *xingren buluo* as a pair.[23]

Dar pa'i sde is another district that Fujieda considered to be a civil district.[24] He concluded that the Chinese term *simian buluo*, 'the district of silk', which sometimes appears in Dunhuang documents, was a translated form of Tibetan *dar pa'i sde*. I think his opinion is basically correct, but we can further develop a better understanding of the district and its relationship with the other districts.

The officials and inhabitants of the two or three military districts always appear together in Tibetan documents. For example, the passage *rgya sha cu pa sde gnyis gyi 'bangs rnams kyis gsol pa'* in P.t.1085 l.2[25] means 'the Chinese Dunhuang inhabitants of two [military] districts are making a petition [to the government]'. Also the passage *rgya sde gnyis kyi dpon snas gsold pha* appeared in P.t.1083 l.2[26] meaning 'the Chinese officials of two [military] districts are making a petition [to the government]'. Thus, the officials of the military districts seem to form one unit as the *rgod* group. In contrast, the phrase *dar pa'i dpon sna,* 'the officials of *dar pa'i sde*' in P.t.1077 l.3,[27] being separate from the *rgod* group, clearly indicates that the officials of *dar pa* were described as one unit. Here, also, the correlation between *rgod kyi sde* and *dar pa'i sde* can be

[21] *gyis* must be a scribal error for *gyi*.
[22] THOMAS 1951: 71.
[23] See FUJIEDA 1961: 279. and Tang and Lu 1990: 412. For the reproduction, see *DMB*, vol.9: 167.
[24] FUJIEDA 1961: 232–35.
[25] For the reproduction, see *Choix* 2: pl.432. For the transcription, see OTDO or IMAEDA *et al*. 2007: 131.
[26] For the reproduction, see *Choix* 2: pl.429. For the transcription, see OTDO or IMAEDA *et al*. 2007: 128.
[27] For the reproduction, see *Choix* 2: pl.418.

seen. In other words, *dar pa'i sde* occupies the place of *g.yung gi sde* in contrast to *rgod kyi sde*. Thus, in Dunhuang, the term *dar pa'i sde* was used in place of *g.yung gi sde* or 'civil district', and that is why *g.yung gi sde* does not appear in Dunhuang documents.

Why did it happen? In P.t.1089 l.9 we read:

> *na ning slad kyis rgya sha cu pa rgod du bton nas //*
> After last year, [the Government] selected some Chinese inhabitants in Dunhuang as *rgod*.[28]

The above passage suggests that the Chinese inhabitants were selected as *rgod* from *g.yung*. In P.t.1091 ll.10–11,[29] the following passage appears:

> *bdag ngan pas // rgya rgod du [...] gsol te / gsol ba bzhin du mdzad nas / rgod du phyung ste // sngun g.yung khams na mchis pa'i tshe…*
> We requested [to the Government] that Chinese should [be selected] as *rgod,* and they were selected as *rgod* just like we requested. Once when they were in the *g.yung* area, …

From these passages, the following situation may be described: in the areas under Tibetan domination, including Dunhuang, all the inhabitants were first registered as *g.yung* and there was no *rgod.* This is why the term *g.yung gi sde* was not used at that time. Instead, the term *dar pa* was used in Dunhuang to refer to a civil district in general. Afterward, some inhabitants were selected and re-registered as *rgod.* In this way, military districts were created in Dunhuang.

4. OTHER DISTRICTS AND THEIR POSITIONS

Apart from the above-mentioned districts, there are some districts which definitely were located in the Dunhuang area but whose functions have so far been unclear. Good examples are *shang buluo* 上部落 'the upper district', *xia buluo* 下部落 'the down district' and

[28] As for the translation of the entire document, see LALOU 1955, YAMAGUCHI 1980, WEN 1987, WANG and CHEN 1989, and SCHERRER-SCHAUB 2009. See also OTDO or IMAEDA *et al*. 2007: 133–37.

[29] For the reproduction, see *Choix* 2: pl.435.

zhongyuan buluo 中元部落 'the centre district'. They apparently were located in Dunhuang because they sometimes appear in Dunhuang documents.[30] Although there are no hints as to their function and relationship with the above-mentioned *rgod* and *g.yung* districts, I assume that their names refer to their locations. As is well known, the Tibetan geographical term *stod* 'upper' means 'the westward' and also *smad* 'lower' means 'the eastward'. It exactly coincides with the fact that *shang* 上 means 'upper' and *xia* 下 means 'lower' in Chinese. Therefore, *shang buluo* probably means 'the district which was located westward of Dunhuang'. As a matter of fact, Fujieda previously noted the geographic location of *shang buluo*. He concluded that a part of *shang buluo* placed around the west branch of the ditch of Yiqiu 宜秋, which was located in the westward part of Dunhuang.[31] The main river, the Ganquan Shui 甘泉水, flowed across the middle of the inhabited area of Dunhuang, and many ditches of various sizes branched from the river.[32] Among them, Yiqiu was one of the major ditches in the west.[33]

Meanwhile, as for *stong sar* district, P.t.1078bis sheds some light on its geography. In the first few lines, it was described as:

> *sngur yur ba ke hva gu la // stong sar kyi sde / wang wing tshan dang / wang rgod kong spun gyi […] zhing dang mu sbrel du mchis pa las// kog.yung dang/ rgod kong du zhing la mchid ma mjal nas// ... [mchid] myi mjal pa'i zhing rnams//*
>
> Once, at the ditch of Jiehe, the lands of Wang 王 Wing tshan and [Wang] rGod kon brothers of *stong sar* district were annexed to the land of […], [Do 杜] Ko g.yung and [Wang] rGod kong did not arrive at an agreement with [Wang rGod kong].
>
> (P.t.1078bis ll.1–3)[34]

Ke hva gu must be a transcription of Chinese Jiehe qu皆和渠, which was the tributary ditch of Duxiang qu 都鄉渠 that was located east of

[30] *Shang buluo* appears in P.ch.3444 and S.1475v5, *xia buluo* in S.1475v4, S.3287 and *zhongyuan buluo* in S.1292.
[31] FUJIEDA 1961: 238–39.
[32] See LI 1996: map 2.
[33] LI 1996: 110–11,113–14.
[34] For the reproduction, see *Choix* 2: pl.423. Full translations of P.t.1078bis are found in WANG and CHEN 1983: 44–45 and in IWAO 2006. See also *OTDO* or IMAEDA *et al*. 2007.

Yiqiu ditch, and west of Ganquan Shui.[35] So *stong sar* district should be around there. Note that both points are on the west side of the river, which flows through the middle of Dunhuang.

Furthermore, *stong sar* and *rgod sar* always appear in this order when they were written together in the documents. According to Tibetan custom, west is always before east, e.g. *stod smad*. I think that this is a strong indicator that *stong sar* district is equal to *shang buluo*. This also indicates that *xia buluo* was located on the opposite side of the river across from *shang buluo*, in short, on the east side, and *xia buluo* is another name of *rgod sar* district.[36]

Thus the last one, *zhongyuan district* 'centre district', considering the meaning, must be equal to *snying tshoms* district, 'the centre district'. P.t.1078bis is a document of judgment for a land dispute between Wang wing tsan, who belonged to *stong sar* district, and Do kogyung, who belonged to *snying tsoms* district. To the south of the land near the Jiehe ditch was Dunhuang castle, the centre of Dunhuang. It is presumed that around there was the location of *snying tsoms* district, i.e. 'the centre district'.

CONCLUSION

We may thus conclude that:

1. *rgod kyi sde* alias *xingren buluo* is a generic term for 'military district'.

2. The *rgod-g.yung* division in the Tibetan Empire was represented by *rgod kyi sde* (*xingren buluo*) and *dar pa'i sde* (*simian buluo*) in Dunhuang. It is thought to reflect a situation in which the inhabitants under Tibetan domination were first registered as *g.yung,* after which some were re-registered as *rgod*.

3. *Stong sar, rgod sar* and *snying tshoms* districts correspond to *shang buluo*, *xia buluo* and *zhongyuan buluo* districts in Chinese.

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[35] LI 1996: 120–21.

[36] We also find an unknown Chinese term *dong xingren* 東行人, 'xingren of the east', in a Dunhuang Chinese document S. 5812 l.1. (see FUJIEDA 1961: 212 and Tang and Lu 1990: 287–288. For the reproduction, see *DMB*, vol.9: 162). It must mean a person who belongs to *xia buluo* alias *stong sar* districts.

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DMFr *Dunhuang and Other Central Asian Manucripts in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France*. Shanghai: Shanghai Chinese Classics Publishing House, 1995–.
DMRu *Dunhuang Manuscripts Collected in the St. Petersburg Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of Russia*. Shanghai: Shanghai Chinese Classics Publishing House, Shanghai, 17 vols., 1992–2001.
DMB *Dunhuang Manuscripts in British Collection (Chinese Texts Other Than Buddhist Texts)*. Chengdu: Sichuan's People's Publishing House, 14 vols., 1990–95
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THE *BŚES PA'I PHRIN YIG* OF NĀGĀRJUNA IN THE COLLECTION OF THE TIBETAN MANUSCRIPTS FROM DUNHUANG

SIGLINDE DIETZ (GÖTTINGEN)

Among the Collection of the Tibetan Manuscripts from Dunhuang of the India Office Library a fragmentary manuscript of the *bŚes pa'i phrin yig*, Sanskrit *Suhṛllekha*, of the great Mādhyamika philosopher Nāgārjuna is preserved. A very short description of this manuscript IOL Tib J 646 (vol pressmark: IOL TIB J vol 004: 111–13) is contained in the *Catalogue of the Tibetan Manuscripts from Tunhuang in the India Office Library* of LOUIS DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN.[1] Now a digitalised version of this manuscript is available.[2]

My description of the distinctive characteristics of this manuscript is based on the researches of CRISTINA SCHERRER-SCHAUB, GEORGE BONANI and MANFRED TAUBE.[3] The manuscript of which the folios 53, 56 and 57 are preserved belongs to the literary texts acquired by AUREL STEIN on his second visit to Dunhuang in 1913. It is a paper manuscript in *poṭhi* shape of the format of 49 x 7 cm^2. Each page contains five lines of text written in ink in a regular *dbu can* script with sporadic interlinear commentary in *dbu med*. According to SCHERRER-SCHAUB; BONANI 2002: 200, in the Dunhuang material the *dbu can* was used almost exclusively for Buddhist texts in translation or texts emanating from clerical milieu, whereas indigenous religious texts and others were written in *dbu med*, as in our manuscript the interlinear glosses. It might be as suggested by SCHERRER-SCHAUB; BONANI 2002: 202, that the root text was written first in *dbu can* with space left for the commentary to be added later in *dbu med*. The fifth line of folio 53 recto as well as the fourth line of folio 57 recto are damaged on the left side. The text of

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[1] Cf. LA VALLÉE POUSSIN 1962: 205, no.646.

[2] I would like to thank Dr BURKHARD QUESSEL of the British Library, London, who first helped me to get access to the manuscript and afterwards provided me with the digitalised version of the manuscript.

[3] Cf. SCHERRER-SCHAUB; BONANI 2002: 184–215; TAUBE 1980.

the second colophon on page 57 verso is damaged in lines 2–4 on the left side and in line 2 on the right side.

The folios' pagination is found on the left side of the recto page and consists just of the folio number. Each folio has two string-holes on the right and left of the third line. A circle, on the free space of which the interlinear commentary continues, surrounds the string-holes. On the right side of the folios the interlinear commentary extends up to the margin. The recto page and the colophon on page 57 verso begin with the "curl-like symbol" representing the auspicious formula *siddham*[4] followed by a double *śad* with two dots in the middle. The lines of the stanzas are divided from each other by double *śad* and a zigzag line in between. The *śad* appears always as a vertical stroke. The beginning of a new topic and whole sentences in the interlinear glosses are marked by a curl like symbol and double *śad*. There are no further ornamental signs in the fragment.

As palæographical characteristic we have to mention the form of the ligatures which are written vertically in later times. These ligatures are either horizontal as e.g. *spyad* in 53a3 or transverse whereby the subscribed letter is fixed on the right side of the superscribed letter as e.g. *rṅub* in 53b5, *rgyu* in 53b2, *rnams* in 53b1, *ste* in 56a2 and *sgrib* in 56a3. The inverted *gi gu* (*ị*) is found in those letters added *secunda manu* under the line, in the colophon and in the *dbu med* text along with the usual form. The curl of the *gi gu* usually begins at the left side of the letter and ends above the next letters. *e* and *o*, too, are written above the left part of the letter. Other characteristics are the almost triangular *ba* as e.g. *lta ba* in 53b1 and the curled up *ta* as e.g. *lta ba* in 53b1 and *te* in 53b2 and *tas* in 57a5[5] in the colophon.

Among the orthographic characteristics we find the use of a *tsheg* between the vowel ending and a vocalic particle as e.g. in *tshe 'aṅ* in vs. 39c; *na 'aṅ* in vss. 40c, 102a, 102c; *pa 'aṅ* in 45d; *mgo 'am* in 104a.

Whereas each word is followed by a *tsheg*, no *tsheg* is used before the semifinal particle *ste* and *te*: cf. *bgyiste* 38b, 54c, 108c; *poste* 42c; *tsomste* 44b, 51b; *gsuṅste* 49a; *baste* 56c; *'byuṅste* 100b, 110a, 111c; *'tshalte* 104c; *drugste* 109c; *baste* 110c; *moste* 112b; *lagste* 114c.

[4] Cf. SCHERRER-SCHAUB; BONANI 2002: 191.
[5] Here the *ta* is very similar to *ña*.

We find sporadical *da drag*: *gyurd* 40c, 40d; *skald* 41d; *'gyurd* 53d, 54d, 99a, 101d, 110b, 111de; *bstand* 54b, 108a; *bstsald* 121b.

Among the characteristics concerning the phonetic and phonology we notice an aspirate instead of unaspirated consonant in *gches* in 112b and the loss of aspirate in *the tsom* 44b, 51b; *ces* 104d; *byaṅ cub* 106c; *na cuṅ* 122c. Here the palatal *ñ with* aspirate in the word *rñhis* in 99b instead of *rñiṅ, rñiṅs* or *brñiṅs* in the Tanjur versions has to be noted.

ya btags is found in combinations of *m*- with the vowels *i* and *e*: *myi, myin, smyin; myed, mye*.

We have voiced *ba* instead of unvoiced *pa* after words ending with *-n* and *-m*: *ñin bar* 39a; *ldan bar* 39d, *ldan ba* 52c; *mṅon bar* 42a, 54c; *brtson bar* 42d, 115b; *dran ba* 45a, 54a, 54d; *bsam bar* 108c; *bsgom bar* 113d; *bden ba* 115a; *pham bar* 115d. *gyi* instead of *kyi* in stanzas 99a, 102b, 111b, 112b, 115c, 119b; *gyaṅ* instead of *kyaṅ* in stanza 115c9. *sts*- instead of *s* in *stsogs* 111b and *bstsald* 121b.

We find an additional *'a chuṅ* in *bgyi'* 42d, 53b; *pa'* 46c, 48d, 56b, 101a; *na'* 55b, 101b, 108a; *myi'* 120a. Sometimes the *'a chuṅ* is missing as e.g. in *mtha* 56a; *mkha* 122b;

The three folios of the manuscript contain on folio number 5[3] the last two syllables of line b of stanza 38 up to stanza 57a of the *bŚes pa'i phrin yig*[6] and on folios 56 and 57 the last word of stanza 97d up to the end of stanza 123 and two colophons. As can be guessed from the critical apparatus there are only few readings deviating from the Tanjur version of the text, e.g. we see the transposition in verse 55c where the Dunhuang manuscript with the siglum Z reads *dbugs 'byuṅ dbugs rṅub* "breathing out (and) breathing in" instead of *dbugs rṅub dbugs 'byuṅ* of the Tanjur version. A different wording is found in stanza 105 a. Z reads *ye śes bsam gtan gyis* "by means of wisdom and contemplation" against *bsam gtan śes rab kyis* in CDD[2] and *śes rab bsam gtan gyis* in NQN[2]Q[2]. The line c of stanza 122 seems to have been different from that of the Tanjur version, but on account of corrections and one lost word it could not yet be fully restored.

The interlinear glosses seem to agree very closely with the commentary *Vyaktapadā Suhṛllekhaṭīkā*, Tib. *bŚes pa'i spriṅ yig*

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[6] Cf. further details on the *Suhṛllekha* in DIETZ 1984: 4–7; 18–30.

rgya cher bśad pa tshig gsal ba, of Mahāmati which is transmitted in the Tanjur.[7] They summarise or exactly quote this commentary.

In our manuscript the *bŚes pa'i phrin yig* has 123 stanzas as in the *sPriṅ yig* section of the Tanjur versions of CDNQ, whereas the versions of D^{2}N^{2}Q^2 add a 124th stanza.

The most remarkable features of our manuscript concern the two colophons. Whereas we read in the colophon of the Dunhuang manuscript || *bśes pa'i phrin yig* || *slob dpon 'phags pa na ga rdzu nas mdzad pa rdzogs so* || "'The letter of a friend' composed by Ācārya Ārya Nāgārjuna is completed", we find in the Tanjur versions the name of the addressee | *mdza' bo rgyal po bde spyod la bskur ba* "which was sent to the friend King bDe spyod". After the names of the translators the names of the scribe and of the person who requested the work are given in the Dunhuang manuscript: | *gla la myi an cuṅ gis bris* || *a<n> cuṅ daṅ* | *ban[d]e ..[s] 'ba. [gyi]s 'og źus* ||

The second colophon begins with three stanzas of praise in a metre of nine syllables. The text reads:

|| *sgrib spaṅs thogs myed mkhyen ldan saṅs rgyas daṅ* ||
'phags pa kun kyis bgrod pa'ị bsgrub chos daṅ ||
sa bcur gnas pa'ị byaṅ chub sems dpa' + *(||)* Z 57b2
+ *'[os] (d)[g](e) '[du]n rnams la phyag 'tshal lo* || [1]

"Reverence to the Buddha who has abandoned the obscurations, who is unimpeded and learned,
(reverence) to the perfect (path) on which all Āryas walk and to the doctrine,
(reverence) to the Bodhisattvas who dwell in the ten stages (*bhūmi*)
and to the .. worthy communities."

saṅs rgyas rnams kyi dam chos śin tu zab ||
rab tu rñed dka' sṅon cad goms ma byas ||
de dag mñan ciṅ bsams bsgoms ma byas par ||
th. + + *gyu[rd] .y.[d]* + + + *[g]son* || [2] Z 57b3

"The holy doctrine of the Buddhas is very deep
and extremely difficult to reach and was not previously experienced.
They hear (it) and without practising meditation ..."

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7 Cf. TT Vol.129, no.5690, *Ṅe* 324 b8–376 b2; D Tôh.4190, *Ṅe* 73 b6–112 a7.

lha klu gnod sbyi[n] dri [za] ◎ *la stsogs pa* ||
dam chos gsan bźed thams cad 'dir spyon te | ◎ |
mchod pa dam pas tshul bźin mchod mdzod la ||
gus + *gson te* + + *.b pa mdzod* || [3] Z 57b4

"Gods, Nāgas, Yakṣas, Gandharvas etc.,
come all here to hear the holy doctrine,
offer holy offering conformably to the duty,
listen respectfully and make ...!"

bśes pa'i phrịn yig rdzogso ||

"The letter of/to a friend is completed."

In the last line the letters have an even greater size than those of the second colophon and they show a partly slovenly appearance. It could be written by a third hand. We read:

[57b5] >|| *bśes pa' i phrịn yig* || *rdzogso* || ♦ *naṅ rje pa blon khrom bźer kyi sug yig [go]* "A hand-written letter from/to the Interior Blon Khrom Bźer."[8]

If we summarise the distinctive elements which are used by SCHERRER-SCHAUB; BONANI 2002: 203–208 to determine the different types of manuscripts, we find that most elements agree with type I: of the time 950–1190/1250. The elements used to determine the types are preceded by an asterisk:

-*no occurrence of the inverted *i*-graph (*ị)* in the root text, always in afterwards added letters, one in the first stanza of the second colophon and frequent occurrence in the interlinear glosses
-*regular occurrence of *ya btags* and irregular occurrence of *da drag*
-*horizontal and almost vertical ligatures
-*simple opening symbol (*mgo yig*) followed by double *śad* and two dots on the recto pages
-*regular occurrence of ornamental signs as punctuation marks: spiral zig-zag *śad*
-*rare use of old terminology

[8] It is worth noting that an individual of this name features in PT 1085, an official dispatch forbidding excessive levies by Tibetans in Dunhuang (IMAEDA ET AL.: 131).

-*use of various script sizes
-pagination on the *recto* side
-string holes with surrounding circles

Transcription of the text

For this edition the following Tanjur versions of the *bŚes pa'i spriṅ yig* are used:[9]

Sigla:

Cone	C	*sPriṅ yig*, Ṅe 40 b3–46 a7
Derge	D	*sPriṅ yig*, Ṅe 40 b4–46 b3 (Tôh. 4182; Taipei Ed., No. 4187, Bd. 46, pp. 339/80/4–341/92/3)
Narthang	N	*sPriṅs yig*, Ṅe 279 a7–286 b3
Peking	Q	*sPriṅs yig*, Ṅe 282 b8–290 a4 (TT 5682, Vol. 129, pp. 235/2/8–238/2/4)

In the editions of Narthang und Peking a second version of the *bŚes pa'i spriṅ yig* is found as well as in the Derge supplementary volume *Jo bo'i chos chuṅ*:

[9] Dr HELMUT EIMER sent me a photocopy of the Cone version of the Microfiche edition of the Institute for Advanced Studies of World Religions and a copy of the *Jo bo'i chos chuṅ* version of the Derge Tanjur for which I would like to thank him very much as well as for his many good advices for the editing of the manuscript. For the text of the Derge Tanjur I used *The Tibetan Tripitaka, Taipei Edition*, Editor-in-Chief A.W. BARBER, Taiwan 1991, in the Sanskrit-Wörterbuch der Turfan-Funde, Göttingen. The Peking Tanjur of the Reprint edition of the Tibetan Tripitaka Research Institute, Tokyo-Kyoto 1957, is available in the Seminar für Indologie und Buddhismuskunde of the University Göttingen.

For the Sigla used in this paper cf. PAUL HARRISON and HELMUT EIMER, "Kanjur and Tanjur Sigla: A Proposal for Standardisation", in: *Proceedings of the 7th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies*, Graz 1995, Vol. III: *Transmission of the Tibetan Canon*. Papers Presented at a Panel of the 7th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Graz 1995, Ed. by HELMUT EIMER (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-Hist.Kl., Denkschriften, 257. Bd), S. XI–XIV.

Derge	D^2	*Jo bo'i chos chuṅ* 60 a3–65 b6 (Tôh. 4496)
Narthang	N^2	*dBu ma*, Gi 64 a5–70 b6
Peking	Q^2	*dBu ma*, Gi 74 a6–81 b4 (TT 5409, Vol. 103, pp. 213/5/6–216/5/4)

Z IOL Tib J 646

The parallel text to the interlinear commentary is quoted from the *Vyaktapadā Suhṛllekhaṭīkā* [abbreviated: SLṬ], Tib. *bŚes pa'i spriṅ yig gi rgya cher bśad pa tshig gsal ba* of Mahāmati, Tib. *Blo gros chen po*. This commentary is found in:

Derge	D	*sPriṅ yig*, Ṅe 73 b6–112 a7 (Tôh. 4190; Taipei Ed., No. 4195, Vol. 46, pp. 348/146/6–359/223/7)
Peking	Q	*sPriṅs yig*, Ṅe 324 b8–376 b2 (TT 5690, Vol. 129, pp. 252/1/8–272/5/2)

The beginning of a new page is marked by underline. The folio numbers are found on the margin. Those parts of the text which are not preserved in the Dunhuang fragment are put in italics.

[ ]	damaged syllable
( )	restored syllable
< >	inserted under the line
<< >>	crossed out
{ }	superfluous letter
+	lacuna or destroyed syllable
.	unreadable letter
◎	string-hole

[38]

[10]*kha zas sman daṅ 'dra bar rig pa yis* ||
'dod chags że sdaṅ med par brten bgyiste || Q^2 76b, Z 53a1
rgyags phyir ma lags bsñems pa'i phyir ma lags ||

[10] C 42b1; D(T) 42b2; Q 285a3; D^2 61b6; Q^2 76a8.

mtshag phyir ma lags lus gnas ’ba’ śig phyir ||

a 7 rig NQD^{2}N^{2}Q^2: rigs CD. b 7 brten NQN^2: bsten CDD^{2}Q^2; 8 Here starts folio 5[3] a; 8–9 bgyiste Z: bgyi ste CDNQD^{2}Q^{2}N^2. c 5 bsñems ZCDNQN^{2}Q^2: bsñem D^2. d 1 mtshag ZD^{2}N^{2}Q^2: ’tshag CD; mtshar NQ; 8 śig Z: źig CDNQD^{2}N^{2}Q^2

glosses
under c 5: ñam stobs[11]

[39]

[12]rigs pa’i bdag ñid ñin bar mtha’ dag daṅ ||
mtshan mo’i thun gyi stod smad bzla nas ni ||
mnal tshe ’aṅ tshe ’bras myed par myi ’gyur bar ||
dran daṅ ldan bar de dag bar du mnol ||

a 1 rigs ZNQN^{2}Q^2: rig CDD^2; 6 bar Z: par CDNQD^{2}N^{2}Q^2. b 2–3 mo’i thun ZNQD^2: mo thun CDQ^2; mo phun N^2; 7 bzla Z: bzlas CDNQD^{2}N^{2}Q^2. c 2–6 tshe ’aṅ tshe ’bras myed Z: tshe’aṅ ’bras bu med CDNQD^{2}N^{2}Q^2. d 4 bar ZD: par CNQD^{2}N^{2}Q^2.

glosses
under a1 – b2:myị ñal bar brtson ba’ị dbaṅ du byas <<na>>ste ’chag pa daṅ ’dug pa lastsogs pa ’ị spyod lam kyịs[13]

[40]

[14]byams daṅ sñiṅ rje dag daṅ dga’ ba daṅ ||
btaṅ sñoms rtag tu yaṅ dag bsgom mdzad cig || D^2 62a; Z 53a2
goṅ ma brñes par ma gyurd de lta na ’aṅ ||
tshaṅs pa’i ’jig rten bde ba ’thob par ’gyurd ||

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[11] Cf. SLṬ: TENZIN 2002: 245.9–10; D 87 a6–7; Q 343 a 1–2.

[12] C 42b1; D(T) 42b2; Q 285a4; D^2 61b7; Q^2 76b1.

[13] Cf. SLṬ: TENZIN 2002: 245.12; D 87 a7; Q 343 a7 and TENZIN 2002: 246.2–3; D 87 b3; Q 343 b1.

[14] C 42b2; D 42b3; Q 285a5; D^2 61b7; Q^2 76b2.

b 7 bsgom mdzad Z: bsgom mdzod CD; sgoms mdzod NQD^{2}Q^2. d 7 'thob Z: thob CDNQD^{2}N^{2}Q^2.

glosses
under a1 – b2:(2) >|| de ltar lus las su ruṅ bar byas nas dṅosu bsam gtan gyị sbyor bstan pa'ị phyir[15]
under a 1–9:(1) bde ba daṅ phrad par gyur cịg sdug bsṅal daṅ bral bar gyur cịg
above a 5–9:bde ba daṅ myị 'bral bar gyur cig |
under b 1–6:bar ma'i rnam par źugs paste lhag par ..m dag[16]
under b 7–8:ṅes par myị 'dzịn
under c 1–9:(2) >|| tshad myed pa bźị bsgoms pas 'bras bu ci 'thob ce na[17]
under c 1–4:(1) mya ṅan las 'das pa'[18]

[41]

[19]'dod dpyod dga' daṅ bde daṅ sdug bsṅal dag ||
rnam par spaṅs pa'i bsam gtan bźi po yis ||
tshaṅs daṅ 'od gsal dag daṅ dge rgyas daṅ ||
'bras bu che lha rnams daṅ skald mñam 'thob ||

a 2–3 dpyod dga' ZD^2: spyodga' C; spyo dga' D; spyod dga' NQN^{2}Q^2. d 7 skald Z: skal CDNQD^{2}N^{2}Q^2; 9 'thob ZNQN^{2}Q^2: thob CDD^2.

glosses
under b 2–8:'dod pa spaṅs pa la stogs pa re re bdun daṅ sbyar[20]
under c9 – d4:spaṅs pas 'bras bu ci 'thob ce na[21]

[42]

[15] Cf. SLṬ: TENZIN 2002: 247.7–8; D 87 b7; Q 344 a1–2.
[16] Cf. SLṬ: TENZIN 2002: 248.4; D 88 a3; Q 344 a5.
[17] Cf. SLṬ: TENZIN 2002: 249.11–12; D 88 b3; Q 344 b8–345 a1.
[18] Cf. SLṬ: TENZIN 2002: 249.14–250.1; D 88 b4; Q 345 a1–2.
[19] C 42b3; D 42b4; Q 285a6; D^2 62a1; Q^2 76b3.
[20] Cf. SLṬ: TENZIN 2002: 250.6–8; D 88 b5–6; Q 345 a4–5.
[21] Cf. SLṬ: TENZIN 2002: 250.9; D 88 b6; Q 345 a5.

[22]rtag daṅ mṅon bar źen daṅ gñen po myed ||
yon tan gtso ldan gźi las byuṅ ba’i las || Z 53a3
dge daṅ myi dge rnam lṅa chen poste || N^2 66b
de las dge ba spyad la brtson bar bgyi ||

a 4 bar Z: par CDNQD^{2}N^{2}Q^2. b 5 gźi ZNQD^{2}N^{2}Q^2; bźi CD. d 2 las ZN^{2}Q^2: bas CDNQD^2; 5 spyad Z: spyod CDNQD^{2}N^{2}Q^2; 8 bar Z: par CDNQD^{2}N^{2}Q^2.

glosses
under a – b 2:(2) >|| da nị ’dod pa na spyod pa’i dge sdig daṅ lcị yaṅ ston te de yaṅ bźị pa ston to[23]
under a 1–2:(1) sbyor ba’[24]
under a 3–4:(1) bsam ba[25]
under b 1–3:(1) gźị ste gñịsu dbye ba[26]
under b 3:(1) tha ma
under d 2–3:(1) de lta bas na[27]
under c7 – d3:(2) ’bras bu ṅes pa daṅ maṅ po ’byịn pa ste[28]

[43]

[29]lan tsa sraṅ ◎ ’ga’ chu ni ñuṅ ṅu źig ||
ro sgyur bgyid <kyị> gaṅ ’ga’i kluṅ myin ltar ||
de bźin sdig pa’i las ni chuṅ ṅu yaṅ ||
dge ba◎’i rtsa ba yaṅs la mkhyen par bgyi’ || Q 285b

a 2 tsa Z: tshwa CDNQD^2; tsha N^{2}Q^2; 4 ’ga’ ZNQ: ’gas CDD^{2}N^{2}Q^2. b 2 sgyur Z: bsgyur CDNQD^{2}N^{2}Q^2; 5–6 gaṅ ’ga’i Z: gaṅgā’i CDNQD^{2}N^{2}Q^2. d 5 yaṅs ZNQD^{2}N^{2}Q^2: yaṅ CD; 6 la ZCDNQD^2: pas N^{2}Q^2.

glosses
under a 1–2:dper na

[22] C 42b3; D 42b4; Q 285a7; D^2 62a2; Q^2 76b4.
[23] Cf. SLṬ: TENZIN 2002: 251.3–4; D 89 a2; Q 345 b1–2.
[24] Cf. SLṬ: TENZIN 2002: 251.5; D 89 a3; Q 345 b2.
[25] Cf. SLṬ: TENZIN 2002: 251.5; D 89 a3; Q 345 b3.
[26] Cf. SLṬ: TENZIN 2002: 251.10; D 89 a5; Q 345 b5.
[27] Cf. SLṬ: TENZIN 2002: 251.14; D 89 a6; Q 345 b7.
[28] Cf. SLṬ: TENZIN 2002: 251.15; D 89 a6; Q 345 b7.
[29] C 42b4; D 42b5; Q 285a8; D^2 62a2; Q^2 76b5.

under c9 – d7:tsam spyad pa yaṅ dge ba'ị stobs ◎ bskyed na myoṅ bar myị 'gyur ba yaṅ yod

[44]

[30]rgod daṅ 'gyod daṅ gnod sems rmugs pa daṅ ||
<u>gñid</u> daṅ 'dod la 'dun daṅ the tsomste || Z 53a4
sgrib pa lṅa <u>po</u> 'di dag dge ba'i nor || N 282b
'phrog pa'i chom rkun lags par rig par ◎ mdzod ||

b 8–9 tsomste Z: tshom ste CDNQ$D^2N^2Q^2$. c 5 'di ZCDNQD^2: de N^2Q^2. d 7 rig Z: mkhyen C$DD^2N^2Q^2$; rigs NQ.

glosses
under a 1–7:(2) >|| 'dị man cad nị bsam gtan bsgom ba'i skyon 'cha<<l>>d
under a 1–3:(1) 'dị gñịs gcig[31]
under a 5–6:(1) mnar sems dgu[32]
under a 7–9:(1) lus daṅ sems las su myi ruṅ ba[33]
under b 6–9:thar pa daṅ lam la[34]
under d 2–6:yin bas chom rkun daṅ 'dra' 'o

[45]

[35]dad daṅ brtson 'grus dag daṅ dran ba daṅ ||
tiṅ 'dzin śes rab chos mchog lṅa ñid de ||
'di la mṅon brtson mdzod cig 'di dag ni ||
stobs dbaṅ źes bgyi rtse mor gyur pa 'aṅ lags ||

a 8 ba Z: pa CDNQ$D^2N^2Q^2$.

glosses
under b 6–9:chos kyị mchog gị rgyu nị lṅa

[30] C 42b5; D 42b5; Q 285b1; D^2 62a3; Q^2 76b6.
[31] Cf. SLṬ: TENZIN 2002: 252.8; D 89 b2; Q 346 a3.
[32] Cf. SLṬ: TENZIN 2002: 252.14; D 89 b4; Q 346 a6.
[33] Cf. SLṬ: TENZIN 2002: 253.5; D 89 b6; Q 346 b2.
[34] Cf. SLṬ: TENZIN 2002: 253.7–8; D 89 b7; Q 346 b4.
[35] C 42b5; D 42b6; Q 285b2; D^2 62a4; Q^2 76b7.

under d 1:bzod pa[36]
under d 2:dro ba'[37]
under d 3–9:dro bar gyur pa'ị mjug <<su>> thogs su skye bas na rtse mo[38]

[46]

[39]na rga 'chi sdug bral daṅ de bźin du ||
[las] (n)[i] bdag gir bya las ma ['das ź]e[s ||] Z 53a5
de ltar yaṅ daṅ yaṅ du sems pa' ni || Q^2 77a
de'i gñen po'i sgo nas rgyags myi 'gyur ||

b 5 bya Z: byas $CDNQD^2N^2Q^2$. d 1–2 de'i Z: de yi $CDNQD^2N^2Q^2$.

glosses
under a 1–9:>|| de ltar dbaṅ po la gnas <<na>> pas rgyags pa'ị phyogs spaṅ bar bstan (2) pa'ị phyir[40]

[47]

[41]gal te mtho ris thar pa mṅon bźed na || D 43a
yaṅ dag lta la goms pa dag tu mdzad ||
gaṅ zag log par lta ba'i legs spyad kyaṅ ||
thams cad rnam par smyin pa myi bzad ldan ||

b 6–8 dag tu mdzad Z: ñid du mdzod $CDNQD^2N^2Q^2$. c 6 ba'i Z: bas $CDNQD^2N^2Q^2$.

glosses
under a 1–9:dad pa la stsogs pa'ị dbaṅ po skye ba'ị rgyu bstan pa'ị phyir[42]
under b 1–5:las daṅ 'bras bu yid ches pa'[43]

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[36] Cf. SLṬ: TENZIN 2002: 253.19; D 90 a4; Q 347 a1.
[37] Cf. SLṬ: TENZIN 2002: 254.1; D 90 a4; Q 347 a2.
[38] Cf. SLṬ: TENZIN 2002: 254.1–2; D 90 a4; Q 347 a2.
[39] C 42b6; D 42b7; Q 285b3; D^2 62a4; Q^2 76b8.
[40] Cf. SLṬ: TENZIN 2002: 254.3–4; D 90 a4–5; Q 347 a2–3.
[41] C 42b7; D 43a1; Q 285b4; D^2 62a5; Q^2 77a1.
[42] Cf. SLṬ: TENZIN 2002: 254.11–12; D 90 a6–7; Q 347 a6.

under c 1–7:(2) >|| ci ste yaṅ dag pa'ị lta ba daṅ bral na nị
under c6 – d1:(1) sbyin ba la stsogs pa 'ga' źig spyad kyaṅ[44]
under d 3–5:yid du myị 'oṅ ba 'i[45]

[48]

[46]myi <nị> yaṅ dag ñid du myi bde źiṅ ||
myi rtag bdag myed myi gtsaṅ {|} rig par bgyi || Z 53b1; C 43a
dran pa ñe bar ma bźag rnams kyi ni ||
phyin ci log bźir lta ba phuṅ khrol pa' ||

b 7–8 rig par ZDNQD^{2}Q^2: rigs par N^2; rig pas C. c 6 bźag ZCDD^2: gźag NQN^{2}Q^2; 7 kyi Z: kyis CDNQD^{2}N^{2}Q^2. d 7–9 phuṅ khrol pa' Z: phuṅ khrol ba CDD^{2}N^{2}Q^2; 'phuṅ bkrol ba NQ.

glosses:
under a 1–9:(3) >|| sems can phyịn cị log bźị spaṅ źịṅ ma log pa la (4) gnas par bstan
under a 4–6:(1) dag par brtags na[47]
under a 8–9:(1) sdug bsṅal ba'i (2) don[48]
under b 1–4:(3) <<sdug bsṅal ba'ị don>>
under b 2–3:(2) skad cig pa'ị don[49]
under b 3–4:(1) naṅ gị byed pa[50]
under b 5–6:suṅs 'drul źes bya'ị don[51]
under c 1–9:>|| goṅ ma lta bu 'ị <<dran>> dran ba ma bźag na cị ñes śe na[52]
under d 5–9:ṅan soṅ daṅ 'kho<r> ba'i rgyu yin bas[53]

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[43] Cf. SLṬ: TENZIN 2002: 254.12–13; D 90 a7; Q 347 a6–7.
[44] Cf. SLṬ: TENZIN 2002: 254.14–15; D 90 b1; Q 347 a7–8.
[45] Cf. SLṬ: TENZIN 2002: 254.16; D 90 b1; Q 347 a8.
[46] C 42b7; D 43a1; Q 285b4; D^2 62a5; Q^2 77a2.
[47] Cf. SLṬ: TENZIN 2002: 255.7; D 90 b3; Q 347 b3.
[48] Cf. SLṬ: TENZIN 2002: 255.4; D 90 b2; Q omitted.
[49] Cf. SLṬ: TENZIN 2002: 255.4–5; D 90 b2; Q 347 b2.
[50] Cf. SLṬ: TENZIN 2002: 255.5–6; D 90 b3; Q 347 b2.
[51] Cf. SLṬ: TENZIN 2002: 255.6–7; D 90 b3; Q 347 b2.
[52] Cf. SLṬ: TENZIN 2002: 255.8; D 90 b3; Q 347 b3.
[53] Cf. SLṬ: TENZIN 2002: 256.1; D 90 b5; Q 347 b6.

[49]

[54]gzugs ni bdag ma yin źes gsuṅste bdag ||
gzugs daṅ myi ldan gzugs la bdag gnas myin ||
bdag la gzugs myi gnas te de bźin du ||
phuṅ po lhag ma bźi yaṅ stoṅ rtogs bgyi ||

a 7–8 gsuṅste Z: gsuṅs te CD$D^2N^2Q^2$; gsuṅ ste NQ. b 3–4 myi ldan Z: mi ldan CDN^2Q^2; ldan min D^2NQ. d 5 bźi ZCDNQD^2: bźin N^2Q^2.

glosses
above a1 – c2:>|| sems can goṅ ma lta bu'ị skyon ni yod bden na bdag ces bya ba nị myed du myị ruṅ ste las legs ñes kyaṅ chuṅ za ba'ị phyir ro źe na yaṅ luṅ daṅ rịgs pas myị 'grub par bśad
under a 1–9:rịgs pas kyaṅ bdag rtag pa nị gzugs ma yin gzugs ma yin te 'jịg pa daṅ | (2) bcas pa'i phyir ro'
under a9 – b1:(1) lha sbyịn ba (2) laṅ daṅ ldan pa lta bu ma yin[55]
above b 5–9:(2) lha sbyịn re lde la 'dug pa [bźin] du ma yin[56]
under b 1–8:(1) rịgs pas dpyad na bdag gịs gzugs pa dbaṅ ma bsgyur bas
under b 4–6:(2) ldan bar myị 'thad <<de>> de
under b4 – d2:(3) >|| rịgs pas dpyad na n[i] gzugs daṅ bdag gñi ka dṅos por yod na nị gnas par yaṅ 'thad na | bdag mtshan ñịd kyis myed pas myị 'thad ||
under c 1–5:(1) pyị śiṅ[57] sa la gnas pa lta bu ni ma yịn no[58]
under c1 – d3:(2) bdag las brten te skye bar yaṅ myị 'thad de cị'i phyir źe na bdag myed par <<skye>> gzugs skye bar mthoṅ ba'i phyịr ro[59]

[50]

[60]phuṅ po 'dod rgyal las myin dus las <u>myin</u> || Z 53b2

[54] C 43a1; D 43a2; Q 285b5; D^2 62a6; Q^2 77a3.
[55] Cf. SLṬ: TENZIN 2002: 256.14; D 91 a2–3; Q 348 a4–5.
[56] Cf. SLṬ: TENZIN 2002: 256.15; D 91 a3; Q 348 a5.
[57] Read *'khri śiṅ*?
[58] Cf. SLṬ: TENZIN 2002: 257.13; D 91 b1; Q 348 b5.
[59] CF. SLṬ: TENZIN 2002: 257.14–258.1; D 91 b2; Q 348 b6.

raṅ bźin las myin ṅo bo ñid las myin ||
dbaṅ phyugs las min rgyu myed can myin te ||
mi śes las daṅ sred las byuṅ rig mdzod ||

c 2 phyugs Z: phyug CDNQD^{2}N^{2}Q^2.

glosses
under a 1–8:(3) >|| 'dị man cad nị myị 'thun ba'i rgyu daṅ rgyu myed par smra ba hun 'byin[61]
under a 3–6:(1) gyị na 'am g<<m>>nam babs[62]
under a 7–8:(1) dbyar dgun ston dpyịd (2) nị dus raṅ bźịn grub <pa> yaṅ
under b 1–3:graṅs can gyị gźuṅ[63]
under b 4–9:(2) 'dị dag nị rgyu log par rtog pa
under b 5–9:(1) chos kyi raṅ gị <<b>> ṅo bo źes pa'ị don |[64]
under c1 – d1:phra źịṅ thams cad byed pa'ị yon tan daṅ ldan bar 'dod de myị 'thun ba'i rgyu
under d 2–4:>|| 'o na ci las skye źe na[65]

[51]

[66]tshul khrims brtul źugs mchog 'dzin raṅ lus la ||
phyin ci log par lta daṅ the tsomste || D^2 62b
kun tu sbyor ba 'di gsum 'thar pa yi ||
groṅ khyer sgo 'gog lags par mkhyen par bgyi' ||

b 5 lta CDNQD^{2}Q^2: ltar N^2; 8–9 tsomste Z: tshom ste CDNQD^{2}N^{2}Q^2. c 2 tu ZCNQD^{2}N^{2}Q^2: du D; 7 'thar Z: thar CDNQD^{2}N^{2}Q^2. d 4 'gog Z: 'gegs CDNQD^{2}N^{2}Q^2; 9 bgyi' Z: bgyis C; gyis DNQ; gyi N^{2}Q^2.

glosses
under b 4:bźir

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[60] C 43a2; D 43a2; Q 285b6; D^2 62a7; Q^2 77a4.
[61] Cf. SLṬ: TENZIN 2002: 258.6–7; D 91 b3–4; Q 348 b8–349 a1.
[62] Cf. SLṬ: TENZIN 2002: 258.8; D 91 b4; Q 349 a2.
[63] Cf. SLṬ: TENZIN 2002: 258.15; D 91 b5; Q 349 a4.
[64] Cf. SLṬ: TENZIN 2002: 259.1; D 91 b6; Q 349 a4–5.
[65] Cf. SLṬ: TENZIN 2002: 261.14; D 92 b5; Q 350 b1.
[66] C 43a2; D 43a3; Q 285b7; D^2 62a7; Q^2 77a5.

under d 1–4:my<<i>>a ṅan la<<stso>>s ’das pa’

[52]

[67]thar pa bdag la rag las bdag la ni || Z 53b3
gźan gyis grogs bgyir ci yaṅ ma mchis kyis || Q 286a
thos daṅ tshul khrims ◎ bsam gtan ldan ba yis || N^2 67a
bden pa rnam pa bźi la ’bad pa mdzod ||

a 3 bdag ZCD$D^2N^2Q^2$: dag NQ; 7 bdag Z: ‘di CDNQ$D^2N^2Q^2$. b 4 bgyir ZCD$D^2N^2Q^2$: bgyid NQ; 9 kyis ZN^2Q^2: pas CDNQD^2. c 8–9 ba yis Z: pa yis CDD^2; pa yi NQN^2Q^2. d 8 pa ZN^2Q^2: par CDNQD^2.

glosses
under a1 – b2:ga la nị ’dị skad du ’o na phuṅ po de daṅ ’bral źịṅ grol ba’ị gros[68] gyis śig ce na[69]
under c 1–4:(2) ’o na thabs gaṅ yin źe na[70]
under c 1–3:(1) bden daṅ ’thun[71]
under c 3–4:(1) raṅ po mnos pa ma ñams pa’[72]
under c 6–9:ṅes par ’byed pa’ị cha daṅ ’thun ba’[73]

[53]

[74]lhag pa’i tshul khrims lhag pa’i śes ◎ rab daṅ || N 282b
lhag pa’i sems la rtag tu bslab par bgyi’ ||
bslab pa brgya rtsa lṅa bcu lhag cig ni || Z 53b4
gsum po ’di naṅ yaṅ dag ’du bar ’gyurd ||

c 8 cig ni ZCD: gcig ni NQ; cig kyaṅ $D^2N^2Q^2$. d 3 ’di ZCDNQD^2: ’di’i N^2Q^2.

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[67] C 43a3; D 43a4; Q 285b8; D^2 62b1; Q^2 77a6.
[68] Read *grogs*.
[69] Cf. SLṬ: Tenzin 2002: 262.10–11; D 93 a2; Q 350 b6–7.
[70] Cf. SLṬ: Tenzin 2002: 262.13; D 93 a3; Q 350 b8.
[71] Cf. SLṬ: Tenzin 2002: 262.14; D 93 a3; Q 350 b8–351 a1.
[72] Cf. SLṬ: Tenzin 2002: 262.15; D 93 a4; Q 351 a1.
[73] Cf. SLṬ: Tenzin 2002: 262.15–16; D 93 a4; Q 351 a1.
[74] C 43a4; D 43a4; Q 286a1; D^2 62b2; Q^2 77a7.

glosses
under a 1–4:(3) thar pa'ị lam gaṅ yin źe na[75]
under a 3–7:(2) mya ṅan las 'das par bsṅos pa'[76]
under a 6–8:(1) ṅes par 'byed pa'ị cha daṅ ◎ 'thun ba'[77]
under b 1–6:'phags pa'ị lam kyi rten bsam gtan bźị[78]
under b8 – c5:>|| bslab pa gsum du bslab gźan yaṅ 'dus par bstan pa'ị phyir[79]

[54]

[80]dbaṅ phyug lus gtogs dran ba bde gśegs gyis ||
bgrod pa gcig pa'i lam du ñe bar bstand ||
de ni bsgrims nas mṅon bar bsruṅ bgyiste ||
dran ba ñams pas chos kun 'jig par 'gyurd || Q^2 77b

a 4 gtogs $ZNQD^2N^2Q^2$: rtog CD; 9 gyis Z: kyis $CDNQD^2N^2Q^2$. c 8 bgyiste Z: bgyi ste $CDNQD^2N^2Q^2$.

glosses
under a 1–4:(2) >|| thar pa'ị lam gźan yaṅ[81]
under a 3–4:(1) khyab pa'ị don
under b1 – c5:lus ci ltar gnas pa bźịn śes pa'ị lam nị śin tu bzaṅ <<la>> ba lam gźan myed pas bgrod pa gcig pa źes bya[82]
under c 3:(1) lam
under d 4 – 8:(1) na chos gźan yaṅ 'jig na mya ṅan las 'das (2) lta smos cị 'chal ba'ị don[83]

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[75] Cf. SLṬ: TENZIN 2002: 263.3; D 93 a5; Q 351 a3.
[76] Cf. SLṬ: TENZIN 2002: 263.4; D 93 a5; Q 351 a3.
[77] Cf. SLṬ: TENZIN 2002: 263.6; D 93 a6; Q 351 a4.
[78] Cf. SLṬ: TENZIN 2002: 263.5; D 93 a6; Q 351 a4.
[79] Cf. SLṬ: TENZIN 2002: 263.6–7; D 93 a6; Q 351 a4–5.
[80] C 43a4; D 43a5; Q 286a2; D^2 62b2; Q^2 77a8.
[81] Cf. SLṬ: TENZIN 2002: 263.13; D 93 b1; Q 351 a7.
[82] Cf. SLṬ: TENZIN 2002: 264.8–9; D 93 b4; Q 351 b4–5.
[83] Cf. SLṬ: TENZIN 2002: 264.12–13; D 93 b5–6; Q 351 b6–7.

[55]

[84]tshe ni gnod maṅ rluṅ gis btab pa yi ||
chu'i chu bur bas kyaṅ myi rtag na' ||
dbugs 'byuṅ dbugs rṅub gñid kyis log pa las || Z 53b5
sad khom gaṅ lags de ni ṅo mtshar che ||

b 1–2 chu'i Z: chu yi CDNQD^{2}N^{2}Q^2. c1–4 dbugs 'byuṅ dbugs rṅub Z: dbugs rṅub dbugs 'byuṅ CDNQD^{2}N^{2}Q^2; gñid kyis log ZCDD^{2}Q^2: gñid kyi log NQ; gñis kyis legs N^2. d 8 mtshar ZCDND^{2}N^{2}Q^2: 'tshar Q.

glosses
under a 1–9:'dị lta bur śes na yaṅ 'phags pa'i lam skyes par bstan
under b 1:dper
under b 2–5:skad cig ma yịn bas[85]
under c1 – d7:sems can gị [l]us gnod pa maṅ ste skad[86] ma yin na dbugs 'byuṅ <<ba d>>brṅug[87] daṅ gñid log pa sad khom ba ṅo mtshar che bar bstan[88]

[56]

[89]lus mtha thal ba mthar skam mthar 'drul źiṅ ||
tha mar myi gtsaṅ sñiṅ po ma mchis pa' ||
rnam par 'jig deṅ<s> myags par 'gyur baste ||
so sor 'gyes chos can du mkhyen par mdzod ||

a 2 mtha Z: mtha' CDNQD^{2}N^{2}Q^2; 8 'drul ZDD^{2}N^{2}Q^2: 'brul CNQ.

glosses
under a 1–8:(2) 'dị lta bu'i phyir yaṅ <cha>g<<n>>s par bya ba'i gnas myed par bstan
under a 2–3:(1) myes[90]

[84] C 43a5; D 43a6; Q 286a3; D^2 62b3; Q^2 77b1.
[85] Cf. SLṬ: TENZIN 2002: 265.1–2; D 93 b7; Q 351 b8–352 a1.
[86] Add *cig*.
[87] Read *dbugs rṅub*?
[88] Cf. SLṬ: TENZIN 2002: 265.5–7; D 93 b7–94 a1; Q 352 a1–2.
[89] C 43a6; D 43a6; Q 286a4; D^2 62b3; Q^2 77b2.
[90] Cf. SLṬ: TENZIN 2002: 266.2; D 94 a4; Q 352 a7.

under a 5:(1) ñịmas[91]
under a 7:(1) chus[92]
under d 3–5:dud 'gros kyaṅ bzaṅ ba[93]
under c 1:myes[94]
under c 4:rluṅ gi<s>[95]
under c 5:chus[96]
under d 1–6:srog chags kun kyis kham bur khyer[97]

[57]

[98]sa daṅ lhun po rgya mtsho ñi ma'i bdun || [end of folio 53]
'bar bas bsregs pa'i lus can 'di dag kyaṅ ||
thal ba yaṅ ni lus par mi 'gyur na ||
śin tu ñam chuṅ mi lta smos ci 'tshal || D 43b

a 8 ma'i Z: ma CDNQD^{2}N^{2}Q^2. b 3 bsregs CDD^{2}N^{2}Q^2: sregs NQ. c 2 ba CDD^{2}N^{2}Q^2: bar NQ.

glosses
under a 1–9:phyi ['i d]ṅos po brtan ba yaṅ ('j)ịg + naṅ gị lta cị smos śes bstan pa'ị phyir ro tshul

Two folios are missing here.

[97]

[99]*de ltar yi dags rnams kyis sna tshogs pa'i ||*
sdug bsṅal ro gcig thob pa gaṅ lags pa ||

[91] Cf. SLṬ: Tenzin 2002: 266.3; D 94 a5; Q 352 a8.
[92] Cf. SLṬ: Tenzin 2002: 266.4; D 94 a5; Q 352 b1.
[93] Cf. SLṬ: Tenzin 2002: 266.5; D 94 a5–6; Q 352 b1.
[94] Cf. SLṬ: Tenzin 2002: 266.11; D 94 a7; Q 352 b3.
[95] Cf. SLṬ: Tenzin 2002: 266.11–12; D 94 a7; Q 352 b3–4.
[96] Cf. SLṬ: Tenzin 2002: 266.12; D 94 a7; Q 352 b4.
[97] Cf. SLṬ: Tenzin 2002: 267.1; D 94 b1; Q 352 b4.
[98] C 43a7; D 43a7; Q 286a5; D^2 62b4; Q^2 77b3.
[99] C 45a3; D 45a5; Q 288b1; D^2 64b1; Q^2 79b7.

de yi rgyu ni skye bo ’juṅs dga’ ba ||
ser sna ’phags min lags par saṅs rgyas gsuṅ || Z 56a1

a 4 dags CDNQN^{2}Q^2: dwags D^2; 6 kyis CDNQD^2: kyi N^{2}Q^2. d 9 Here starts folio 56 of the Dunhuang fragment. gsuṅ ZNQ: gsuṅs CDD^{2}N^{2}Q^2.

[98]

[100]mtho ris na yaṅ bde che de dag gi ||
’chi ’pho’i sdug bsṅal ñid ni de bas che || Q^2 80a
de ltar bsams nas ya rabs rnams kyis ni ||
zad ’gyur mtho ris slad du sred myi bgyi ||

a 6 che Z: chen CDNQD^{2}N^{2}Q^2.

glosses
under a 1–9:(2) lha’ị ’gro ba’i sdug bsṅal gyi dbaṅ du byas[101]
under a7 – b4:(1) ba yin yaṅ ’chi ba’ị tshe de bas sdug bsṅal bar bstan pa’i phyir[102]
under b 6–7:bde ba
under d 1–9:dper md<a’> gnam du ’phaṅs <<na>> pa phyir ldog pa daṅ ’dra ba’ị

[99]

[103]lus gyi kha dog myi sdug ’gyurd pa daṅ ||
stan la myi dga’ me tog ’phreṅ rñhis daṅ ||
gos la dri ma chags daṅ lus las ni ||
sṅon cad med pa’i rṅul ’byuṅ źes bgyi ba ||

a 2 gyi Z: kyi CDNQD^{2}N^{2}Q^2; 7–8 ’gyurd pa Z: ’gyur ba CDNQD^2; gyur pa N^{2}Q^2. b 7 ‘phreṅ Z: phreṅ CDNQD^{2}N^{2}Q^2; 8 rñhis Z: rñiṅ CDD^2; rñiṅs NQ; bsñiṅs N^{2}Q^2. c 8 las ZCDD^2: la NQN^{2}Q^2. d 2 cad Z: chad CDNQD^{2}N^{2}Q^2; 8 bgyi ZCDD^{2}N^{2}Q^2: bya NQ.

[100] C 45a4; D 45a5; Q 288b2; D^2 64b2; Q^2 79b8.
[101] Cf. SLṬ: Tenzin 2002: 295.1; D 103 b4; Q 365 a1–2.
[102] Cf. SLṬ: Tenzin 2002: 295.4–5; D 103 b5; Q 365 a3.
[103] C 45a5; D 45a6; Q 288b3; D^2 64b2; Q^2 80a1.

glosses
under a1 – b1:>|| dr̥s pa lha la gnad 'chad pa'ị sdug bsṅal myed na ji 'ị
phyir '[ch]i 'pho ba'ị sdug (2) bsṅal 'byuṅ źe na[104]

[100]

[105]mtho ris 'chi 'pho sbron byed sṅa ltas lṅa || Z 56a2
lha yul gnas pa'i lha rnams la 'byuṅste ||
sa steṅ myi rnams 'chi bar 'gyur ba dag ||
ston par byed pa'i 'chi ltas rnams daṅ 'dra ||

a 5 sbron byed sṅa ZNQ: sbron bgyid 'chi $CD^2N^2Q^2$; sgron bgyid 'chi D. d 1 ston Z: spron C; sbron $DNQD^2N^2Q^2$.

glosses
under c1 – d3:myị tsha ba'i sṅa lhas nị khrus byas na sñiṅ tsha ba daṅ
rna ba ma bkab par <<na>> sgra myị thos pa lta bu[106]

[101]

[107]lha 'i 'jig rten dag nas 'phos pa' la || N^2 69b
gal te dge ba'i lhag ma 'ga' myed na' ||
de nas dbaṅ myed dud 'gro yi dags daṅ || D 45b
dmyal bar gnas pa gaṅ yaṅ ruṅ bar 'gyurd ||

a 2 'i Z: yi $CDNQD^2N^2Q^2$. c 8 dags $ZCDNQN^2Q^2$: dwags D^2.

glosses
under a 1–7:>|| lha rnams la sdug bsṅal goṅ mar zad de[108]
under b 3–5:lha myir skye ba'ị rgyu[109]

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[104] Cf. SLṬ: Tenzin 2002: 295.10–11; D 103 b6–7; Q 365 a5.
[105] C 45a5; D 45a6; Q 288b4; D^2 64b3; Q^2 80a2.
[106] Cf. SLṬ: Tenzin 2002: 296.5–7; D 104 a3–4; Q 365 b2–3.
[107] C 45a6; D 45a7; Q 288b5; D^2 64b4; Q^2 80a3.
[108] Cf. SLṬ: Tenzin 2002: 296.8–9; D 104 a4; Q 365 b4.
[109] Cf. SLṬ: Tenzin 2002: 296.11; D 104 a5; Q 365 b5.

[102]

[110]lha myin dag na 'aṅ raṅ bźin gyis lha 'i || Z 56a3
dpal la sdaṅ phyir yid gyi sdug bsṅal che ||
de dag blo daṅ ldan na 'aṅ 'gro ba'i ||
sgrib pas bden ba mthoṅ ba ◎ ma mchis so ||

a 4–5 na 'aṅ ZD: na'aṅ CNQD^{2}N^{2}Q^2; 9 'i Z: yi CDNQD^{2}N^{2}Q^2. b 6 gyi Z: kyi CDNQD^{2}N^{2}Q^2. c 6–9 na 'aṅ 'gro ba'i Z: yaṅ 'gro ba yi CDNQD^2; na'aṅ 'gro ba yi N^{2}Q^2. d 1 sgrib ZCDQD^{2}N^{2}Q^2: bsgribs N; 8–9 mchis so ZCDNQD^{2}Q^2: mchiso N^2.

glosses
under a 1–6:lha ma yin gyị sdug bsṅal gyị dbaṅ du byas[111]
under a 6:(1) ṅa rgyal[112]
under c 3–6:dge myi dge dpyo[d] pa'i[113]
under c 8–9:'gro ba'ị ris ñid (2) 'gro ba ga ce bas
under d 1–9:(1) myị 'ị ris kyị sgrib pa jị'i phyịr ma bstan ce na des pa 'dod pas phoṅs daṅ 'chi ba daṅ źes bya ba la stsogs (2) pa sdugs bsṅal gyị gnas su bstan pa <<ya>> daṅ sṅar yaṅ myi rnam pa du mar smad pas log śịg du ma bśado ||[114]

[103]

[115]'khor ba de 'dra lags pas <lha> myi daṅ ||
dmyal ba dud 'gro yi dags rnams dag tu ||
skye ba bzaṅ po ma lags ◎ skye ba ni ||
gnod pa du ma'i snod 'gyur lags mkhyen mdzod || C 45b

b 3–6 dud 'gro yi dags ZNQN^{2}Q^2: yi dags dud 'gro CD; yi dwags dud 'gro D^2; 8 rnams ZCDND^{2}N^{2}Q^2: rnam Q. d 6 'gyur Z: gyur CDNQD^{2}N^{2}Q^2.

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[110] C 45a6; D 45b1; Q 288b6; D^2 64b4; Q^2 80a4.
[111] Cf. SLṬ: TENZIN 2002: 296.13; D 104 a5; Q 365 b6.
[112] Cf. SLṬ: TENZIN 2002: 297.1; D 104 a6; Q 365 b6–7.
[113] Cf. SLṬ: TENZIN 2002: 297.7; D 104 b1; Q 366 a1–2.
[114] Cf. SLṬ: TENZIN 2002: 298.1–7; D 104 b3–4; Q 366 a5–6.
[115] C 45a7; D 45b1; Q 288b7; D^2 64b5; Q^2 80a5.

glosses
under a1 – b6:(1) de yan chad ’khor ba’i ñes pa bśad nas (2) ’dị man chad mṅon bar myị dg<a’> ba’ị ’du śes ñe bar bstan pa’i <<’i>> phyir[116]

[104]

[117]mgo ’am gos la glo bur mye śor na ||
de dag phyir bzlog bgyi ba btaṅ nas kyaṅ || Z 56a4
yaṅ srid myed par bgyi slad ’bad ’tshalte ||
’di bas ches mchog dgos pa gźan ma mchis ||

a1–2 mgo ’am ZC: mgo’am DNQ$D^2N^2Q^2$. b3–4 phyir bzlog ZNQ: bzlog phyir CD$D^2N^2Q^2$; 5 bgyi ZCDNQD^2N^2: om. Q^2. d 1–3 ’di bas ches ZNQ: de bas ches CD$D^2N^2Q^2$.

glosses
under a 1–9:>|| ’khor ba’ị skyon du bstan nas mya ṅan las ’das pa la gzud (2) pa’i phyir[118]
under b 5–7:ciṅ gsad pa yaṅ[119]
under c 3–4:pa’i lus
under c 7–9:lus srog la yaṅ (2) myi lta bar[120]

[105]

[121]tshul khrims dag daṅ ye śes bsam gtan gyis || Q 289a
mya ṅan ’das źi dul ba dri myed pa’i ||
go ’phaṅ myi rga myi ’chi zad ma ’tshal ||
sa chu mye rluṅ gñi zla bral thob mdzod ||

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[116] Cf. SLṬ: Tenzin 2002: 298.8–9; D 104 b4; Q 366 a6–7.
[117] C 45b1; D 45b2; Q 288b7; D^2 64b5; Q^2 80a6.
[118] Cf. SLṬ: Tenzin 2002: 298.14–15; D 104 b6; Q 366 b1.
[119] Cf. SLṬ: Tenzin 2002: 299.1; D 104 b7; Q 366 b2.
[120] Cf. SLṬ: Tenzin 2002: 299.2; D 104 b7; Q 366 b3.
[121] C 45b1; D 45b3; Q 288b8; D^2 64b6; Q^2 80a7.

a 5–9 ye śes bsam gtan gyis Z: bsam gtan śes rab kyis CDD^2; śes rab bsam gtan gyis NQN^{2}Q^2. c 2 ’phaṅ ZCDNQD^2: ’phaṅs N^{2}Q^2; 4 rga ZCDD^{2}N^{2}Q^2: rgas NQ; 7 zad ZCDNQD^2: bas N^{2}Q^2; 8 ma Z: mi CDNQD^{2}N^{2}Q^2. d 5 gñi Z: ñi CDNQD^{2}N^{2}Q^2.

glosses

under a1 – b2:>|| yaṅ srid myed par bya ba’i thabs gaṅ yin źe na bslab pa gsuṃ yin bar bstan pa’i | (2) phyir[122]

under b 4–5:(2) lhag ma myed pa[123]

under b 6–9:(1) lhag ma daṅ bcas pa[124]

above b8 – c5:gñi ga ’dod chags daṅ bral ba ’i dri ma[125]

under c 3–6:deṅs pa myed pa[126]

under d 1–9:>|| phyi rol pa’ị mya ṅan las ’das pa las khyad bar du bstan | (2) pa’ị phyir[127]

[106]

[128]dran daṅ chos rab ’byed daṅ brtson ’grus daṅ ||
dga’ daṅ śin tu sbyaṅs daṅ tiṅ ’dzin daṅ || Z 56a5
btaṅ sñoms ’di bdun byaṅ cub yan lag ste || Q^2 80b, N 285b
mya ṅan ’das thob bgyid pa’i dge tshogs lags ||

b 5 sbyaṅs ZCDND^{2}N^{2}Q^2: sbraṅs Q. 6 cub Z: chub CDNQD^{2}N^{2}Q^2.

glosses

under a 1–2:dmịgs pa ma brjed pa[129]

under a 3–4:raṅ daṅ spyi’i (2) mtshan ñid

under a 7–8:mṅon bar spro ba[130]

under b 1–2:dmịgs pa de ñid las | (2) yịd bde ba skyed pa[131]

under b 3–4:lus daṅ sems[132]

[122] Cf. SLṬ: TENZIN 2002: 299.7–8; D 105 a2; Q 366 b5–6.
[123] Cf. SLṬ: TENZIN 2002: 299.10; D 105 a3; Q 366 b7.
[124] Cf. SLṬ: TENZIN 2002: 299.10–11; D 105 a3; Q 366 b7.
[125] Cf. SLṬ: TENZIN 2002: 299.14; D 105 a4; Q 366 b8.
[126] Cf. SLṬ: TENZIN 2002: 300.1; D 105 a5; Q 367 a2.
[127] Cf. SLṬ: TENZIN 2002: 300.2–3; D 105 a5; Q 367 a3.
[128] C 45b2; D 45b3; Q 289a1; D^2 64b7; Q^2 80a8.
[129] Cf. SLṬ: TENZIN 2002: 300.6; D 105 a6; Q 367 a4.
[130] Cf. SLṬ: TENZIN 2002: 300.7; D 105 a7; Q 367 a5.
[131] Cf. SLṬ: TENZIN 2002: 300.7–8; D 105 a7; Q 367 a5.
[132] Cf. SLṬ: TENZIN 2002: 300.8; D 105 a7; Q 367 a6.

under b 7–8:rtse gcig pa'i don[133]
under c 1–4:rnal du 'dug pa daṅ lhun gyis grub pa[134]
under c 5–8:zag pa myed pa'ị ye [ś]es k[y]i +[135]

[107]

[136]śes rab myed la bsam gtan yod myin te || D^2 65a
bsam gtan myed par yaṅ ni śes rab myed ||
gaṅ la de gñis yod pa'i srid pa yi ||
rgya mtsho gnag rjes lta bur 'tshal bar bgyi ||

a 4 la ZN^2Q^2: par $CDNQD^2$. c 4 gñis $ZNQD^2N^2Q^2$: ñid CD; 6 pa'i Z: pas $CDNQD^2N^2Q^2$.

glosses
under a1 – b9:(2) >|| mya ṅan las 'das pa thob pa'ị rgyu nị śes rab daṅ bsaṃ gtan lags la de gñịs nị gchig la gchig bltos par bstan pa'ị phyir <<ro |>>
under a 2–8:(1) gsal ba myed daṅ yaṅ dag pa'ị don la rtse gchig pa myị 'thad
under b1 – c1:(1) yaṅ dag pa'ị don la rtse gchig du bźag daṅ yaṅ dag pa jị lta ba bźin du śes pa skye
under d 3:dper

[108]

[137]luṅ ma bstand pa bcu bźi 'jig rten na' ||
ñi ma'i gñen gyis rab gsuṅs gaṅ dag lags || Z 56b1
de dag rnams la bsam bar myi bgyiste ||
de yis blo 'di źi bar bgyid ma lags ||

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[133] Cf. SLṬ: TENZIN 2002: 300.9; D 105 a7; Q 367 a6.
[134] Cf. SLṬ: TENZIN 2002: 300.10; D 105 b1; Q 367 a6–7.
[135] Restore *yan lag*? Cf. SLṬ: TENZIN 2002: 300.11; D 105 b1; Q 367 a7.
[136] C 45b3; D 45b4; Q 289a2; D^2 64b7; Q^2 80b1.
[137] C 45b3; D 45b5; Q 289a3; D^2 65a1; Q^2 80b2.

a 6 bźi ’jig rten na ZCDND^2: bźi’i ’jig rten na Q; bźi tiṅ ṅe ’dzin na N^{2}Q^2. b 7–9 dag lags ZDNQD^{2}N^{2}Q^2: dag la lags C. c 6 bar Z: par CDNQD^{2}N^{2}Q^2; 8–9 bgyiste Z: bgyi ste CDNQD^{2}N^{2}Q^2. d 2 yis ZCDD^{2}N^{2}Q^2: yi NQ; 4 ‘di ZN^{2}Q^2: ni CDNQD^2.

glosses
under a 1–8:mya ṅan las ’das pa’ị thob pa’ị bar chad kyi chos bstan pa’ị phyir[138]
under b 1–7:tshul bźin ma yin pa ’dri bas luṅ myị bstan

[109]

[139]myi śes pa las las te de las ni ||
rnam śes de las myiṅ daṅ {|} gzugs rab ’byuṅ ||
de las skye mched drugste de dag las ||
reg pa kun tu ’byuṅ bar thub pas gsuṅs ||

a 1–2 myi śes Z: ma rig CDNQD^{2}N^{2}Q^2; a 5 las ZCDNQD^2: laṅs N^{2}Q^2. c 8–9 dag las ZNQ: las ni CDD^{2}N^{2}Q^2.

glosses
under a 1–7:>|| ’o na bsam bar bya ba’ị yul gaṅ yin źe na

[110]

[140]reg pa las ni tshor ba kun ’byuṅste ||
tshor ba’i gźi las sred pa ’byuṅ bar ’gyurd || Z 56b2
sred pa<s> len pa skyed par ’gyur baste || N^2 70a
de las srid pa srid las skye ba lags ||

c 2 pas ZCDNQ: las D^{2}N^{2}Q^2; 4–6 pa skyed par Z: pa bskyed par CDNQ; pa skye bar D^{2}Q^2; par skye bar N^2.

glosses
under c 1–5:>|| yaṅ na ñe riṅ gị rgyur sbyar

[138] Cf. SLṬ: TENZIN 2002: 301.13–14; D 105 b6; Q 367 b6–7.
[139] C 45b4; D 45b5; Q 289a4; D^2 65a2; Q^2 80b3.
[140] C 45b4; D 45b6; Q 289a5; D^2 65a2; Q^2 80b4.

under c 1–3:(1) phyir yaṅ sred la |
under c 4–8:khyad bar 'dod pa'ị sgo nas

[111]

[141]skye ba yod na mya ṅan nad rga daṅ ||
'dod pas phoṅs daṅ 'chi bas 'jigs stsogs gyi ||
sdug bsṅal phuṅ po śin tu che 'byuṅste ||
skye ba 'gags pas 'di kun 'gag par 'gyurd ||

a 7 nad Z: na CDNQD^{2}N^{2}Q^2. b 6–9 bas 'jigs stsogs gyi Z: daṅ 'jigs sogs kyi CDD^2; daṅ 'jig sogs kyi NQ; daṅ 'jigs sogs kyis N^{2}Q^2; || om. Z.

glosses
under d 1–6:lugs las bzlog par bstan[142]

[112]

[143]rten ciṅ 'brel par 'byuṅ 'di rgyal ba'i ||
gsuṅ gi mdzod gyi gches pa zab moste || Z 56b3, D 46a
gaṅ gis 'di ni yaṅ dag mthoṅ ba des ||
saṅs rgyas de ñid rig pa rnams ◎ mchog mthoṅ ||

a 4 par ZDN^{2}Q^2: bar CNQD^2; 8–9 ba'i Z: ba yi CDNQD^{2}N^{2}Q^2. b 4 gyi Z: kyi CDNQD^{2}N^{2}Q^2; 5 gches Z: gces CDD^{2}N^{2}Q^2; ces NQ. c 9 des ZDD^{2}N^{2}Q^2: ste CNQ. d 6–7 pa rnams Z: pas rnam CDN^{2}Q^2; pa rnam NQD^2.

glosses
under b 1–9:(2) thams cad la rten 'brel gyi don gyis ma khyab sa myed pas zab
under b 7–9:(1) mu bźị daṅ bral ba
under c1 – d3:cị lta bu źe na 'bu ta'ị mkhyen pa zag pa myed pas yaṅ dag par mthoṅ ba'i phyiro |

[141] C 45b5; D 45b7; Q 289a6; D^2 65a3; Q^2 80b5.
[142] Cf. SLṬ: TENZIN 2002: 303.15; D 106 b1; Q 368 b5.
[143] C 45b6; D 45b7; Q 289a7; D^2 65a4; Q^2 80b6.

under d 5–6:yịn bas

[113]

[144]yaṅ dag lta daṅ ’tsho daṅ rtson ba daṅ |
dran daṅ tiṅ ’dzin ṅag daṅ las mtha’ daṅ |
yaṅ dag ◎ rtog ñid lam gyi yan lag brgyad || Q 289b
’di ni źi bar bgyi slad bsgom bar bgyi ||

a 7 rtson Z: rtsol $CDNQD^2N^2Q^2$. b 3–6 tiṅ ’dzin ṅag daṅ ZD^2N^2: tiṅ ’dzin dag daṅ CDQ^2; tiṅ ṅe ’dzin dag NQ; 9 daṅ $ZNQD^2N^2Q^2$: dag CD. d 8 bar Z: par $CDNQD^2N^2Q^2$; 9 bgyi $ZCDD^2N^2Q^2$: bgyid NQ.

glosses
under a 1–4:zag pa myed pa’ị śes rab |[145]
under a 5–6:| tshul ’chos pa (2) daṅ bral
under a8 – b2:brtson ’grus (2) te yaṅ dag pa’ị spoṅ ba bźi[146]
above b 2–7:dmyigs pa ma brjed pa ste yaṅ dag pa’i dran ba bźị[147]
under b 3–4:bsam gtan (2) bźị[148]
under b 6–7:yaṅ dag pa’ị (2) ṅag bźi[149]
under b 8–9:lus kyi las (2) dge ba gsum[150]
under c 1–5:gnod sems myed ◎ pa yaṅ dag pa’ị rtog pa[151]
under d 3–4:sdug bsṅal

[114]

[152]skye ’di sdug bsṅal sred pa źes bgyi ba || Z 56b4
de ni ’di <’ị> kun ’byuṅ rgya chen te ||
’di ’gog pa ni thar pa lagste lam ||

[144] C 45b6; D 46a1; Q 289a8; D^2 65a4; Q^2 80b7.
[145] Cf. SLṬ: Tenzin 2002: 311.9; D 108 b5–6; Q 371 b6.
[146] Cf. SLṬ: Tenzin 2002: 311.11; D 108 b6; Q 371 b7.
[147] Cf. SLṬ: Tenzin 2002: 311.11–12; D 108 b6; Q 371 b7.
[148] Cf. SLṬ: Tenzin 2002: 312.2; D 109 a1; Q 372 a1–2.
[149] Cf. SLṬ: Tenzin 2002: 312.2–3; D 109 a1; Q 372 a2.
[150] Cf. SLṬ: Tenzin 2002: 312.3–4; D 109 a1; Q 372 a2.
[151] Cf. SLṬ: Tenzin 2002: 312.4; D 109 a1; Q 372 a3.
[152] C 45b7; D 46a2; Q 289b1; D^2 65a5; Q^2 80b8.

de 'thob 'phags pa'i yan lag de brgyad lags || Q^2 81a, C 46a

b 1 de ZCDNQ: 'di N^{2}Q^2; 3–4 'di yi ZNQ: de yi CDN^2; de'i Q^2; 4 'i Z: yi CDNQD^{2}N^{2}Q^2. c 9 lam ZNQ: de CDD^{2}N^{2}Q^2. d 1–4 de 'thob 'phags pa'i Z: 'thob bgyid 'phags lam CDD^{2}N^{2}Q^2; de thob 'phags lam NQ.

glosses
under a 1–2:(2) >|| 'di man cad lam gyi dmyigs (3) pa bstan te[153]
under a 1–2:(1) daṅ po daṅ sbyar
under a 5–7:gñịs daṅ sbyar
under b 1–7:sdug bsṅal gyị rgyu yin bas[154]
under c 1–2:kun 'byuṅ ba[155]
under d 1–9:mya ṅan las 'das pa thob pa 'ị thabs nị 'phags pa'ị lam mo[156]

[115]

[157]de lta lags pas 'phags pa'i bden ba bźi ||
mthoṅ bar bgyi slad rtag tu brtson bar bgyi ||
paṅ na dpal gnas khyim pa rnams gyis gyaṅ || N 286a
śes pas ñon moṅs chu bo pham bar bgyis ||

a 1–9 de lta lags pas 'phags pa'i bden ba bźi Z: de ltar 'phags pa'i bden pa bźi po dag CDNQD^2; de ltar lags pas 'phags pa'i bden pa bźi N^{2}Q^2. d 7–9 pham bar bgyis Z: las brgal gyi CDD^2; las rgal gyi NQ; las rgal gyis N^{2}Q^2.

glosses
under b 7–9:lam yan lag brgyad la
under c1 – d7:(2) >|| yaṅ 'di sñam du bdag cag khyim pa rnaṃs kyị ni bya ba maṅ po la g.yeṅs na jị ltar bden ba mthoṅ bar bya sñam ba la[158]
under c 1–7:(1) gzugs can sñiṅ po lta bu <<la>>[159]

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[153] Cf. SLṬ: TENZIN 2002: 312.8; D 109 a2–3; Q 372 a3–4.
[154] Cf. SLṬ: TENZIN 2002: 313.11–12; D 109 a7; Q 372 b3.
[155] Cf. SLṬ: TENZIN 2002: 313.11; D 109 a7; Q 372 b3.
[156] Cf. SLṬ: TENZIN 2002: 314.13–14; D 109 b4–5; Q 373 a2–3.
[157] C 46a1; D 46a2; Q 289b2; D^2 65a6; Q^2 81a1.
[158] Cf. SLṬ: TENZIN 2002: 315.3–4; D 109 b7–110 a1; Q 373 a6.
[159] Cf. SLṬ: TENZIN 2002: 315.5–6; D 110 a1; Q 373 a7.

under d 3–8:(1) gaṅ zag bdag myed par chud pas |
under d 9:byas pa yaṅ (2) yod pa daṅ

[116]

[160]gaṅ dag chos mṅon bgyis pa de dag kyaṅ || Z 56b5
gnam las babs pa ma lags lo tog bźin ||
sa rum ’thon pa ma lags de dag sṅun ||
ñon moṅs rag las skye bo kho nar bas ||

a 5 bgyis ZCDD^{2}N^{2}Q^2: bgyid NQ. b 1 gnam ZCDD^{2}N^{2}Q^2: gnas NQ. c 3–4 ’thon pa Z: las ’thon CD; nas ’thon NQD^2; nas mthon N^{2}Q^2; 9 sṅun Z: sṅon CDNQD^{2}N^{2}Q^2. d 5–8 skye bo kho nar Z: so so’i skye bor CDNQD^{2}N^{2}Q^2.

glosses
under a 1–2:gźan yaṅ

[117]

[161]bsñeṅs daṅ bral ba maṅ du gsol ci ’tshal ||
phan ba’i gdams ṅag don po ’di lags te ||
khyod kyis thugs dul mdzad cig bcom ldan gyis <||>
sems ni chos kyi rtsa ba lags par gsuṅs || D^2 65b, Z 57a1

a 4 ba ZN^{2}Q^2: la CDNQD^2. c 2 kyis ZCDNQD^2: kyi N^{2}Q^2; 4 dul ZCDNQD^2: thul N^{2}Q^2; 5 mdzad Z: mdzod CDNQD^{2}N^{2}Q^2.

glosses
under a 1–8:(2) >|| ’dị man cad mdor bsdus te ‘doms par sbyar[162]
under a 5–6:(1) nị ’bod pa’ị tshig[163]
under a ||:te bsdu na
under b 7:mchog
under c 1–2:gaṅ źe na
under c 4–6:myị dge ba las bzlog ste

[160] C 46a1; D 46a3; Q 289b3; D^2 65a6; Q^2 81a2.
[161] C 46a2; D 46a4; Q 289b4; D^2 65a7; Q^2 81a3.
[162] Cf. SLṬ: TENZIN 2002: 315.16–17; D 110 a4–5; Q 373 b4.
[163] Cf. SLṬ: TENZIN 2002: 315.17; D 110 a5; Q 373 b4.

under c 7–8:jị 'ị phyir źe na
under d 3–4:dge sdig gi

[118]

[164]khyod la de skad btams pa gaṅ lags de ||
bas par dge sloṅ gis kyaṅ bgyi bar dka' ||
'di las gaṅ źig spyod pa'i ṅo bo de'i ||
yon tan bsten pas sku tshe don yod mdzod ||

a 5 btams Z: gdams CDNQD^{2}N^{2}Q^2; 9 de ZCDNQD^2: te N^{2}Q^2. c 2 las ZNQD^{2}N^{2}Q^2: la CD. d3 bsten ZNQD^{2}N^{2}Q^2: bstan CD.

glosses
under 117 d9 – 118 d9:>|| 'dị skad du bstan te goṅ du jị skad du bstan pa de dag rdzogs pa[r] bya bar + + b. 'du 'dzi spaṅs pas kyaṅ dka' ba yịn rgyal po la stsogs pa 'du 'dzi la gnas pa rnams kyis lta | ril rdzogs par lta ga la nus nus 'on kyaṅ jị nus kyis spyad do źes bya ba'i don to ||

[119]

[165]kun gyi dge ba kun la yi raṅ źiṅ ||
ñid gyi legs par spyad pa rnam gsum yaṅ ||
saṅs rgyas ñid thob bgyi slad yoṅs bsṅos nas || N^2 70b
de nas dge ba'i phuṅ po 'di yis khyod || Z 57a2

b 2 gyi Z: kyi CDN^{2}Q^2; kyis NQD^2.

glosses
under a 1–2:sems can
under a 5–9:'jig rten daṅ 'jig rten las (2) 'das pa'ị dge ba[166]

[164] C 46a3; D 46a4; Q 289b5; D^2 65b1; Q^2 81a4.
[165] C 46a3; D 46a5; Q 289b6; D^2 65b1; Q^2 81a5.
[166] Cf. SLṬ: TENZIN 2002: 317.7–8; D 110 b4; Q 374 a6.

under b 8–9:lus daṅ ṅag yid
under d 3–6:yi raṅ ba daṅ bsṅos pa[167]

[120]

[168]skye ba dpag tu myed par lha daṅ myi'i ||
'jig rten kun gyi rnal 'byor dbaṅ mdzad nas ||
'phags pa spyan ras gzigs dbaṅ spyod pa yis ||
'gro ba ñam thag maṅ po[s] rjes bzuṅ ste ||

a 8–9 daṅ myi'i Z: mi yi CDNQ$D^2N^2Q^2$. b 5 rnal ZCDNQD^2: dpal N^2Q^2. d 1–3 'gro ba ñam ZCDNQD^2: skye bo ñams N^2Q^2; po[s] Z ([s] not completely erased?): po CDNQ$D^2N^2Q^2$.

glosses
under b 7–8:gyị dbaṅ phyug[169]
under c 1–5:sems can smyin par bya ba'ị ched du[170]

[121]

[171]'khruṅs nas rnad rga 'dod chags źe sdaṅ rnams ||
bstsald te saṅs rgyas źiṅ du bcom ldan 'das ||
'od dpag myed daṅ 'dra bar 'jig rten gyi ||
mgon po <u>sku</u> tshe dpag tu myed pa <u>mdzod</u> || Z 57a3, Q 290a

a 3 rnad Z: na CDNQ$D^2N^2Q^2$. b1 bstsald Z: bsal CDNQ$D^2N^2Q^2$. d 8 pa Z: par CDNQ$D^2N^2Q^2$.

glosses
under a 1–2:srid pa tha mar[172]
under c 1–3:snaṅ ba mth<a'> yas[173]

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[167] Cf. SLṬ: TENZIN 2002: 318.1–2; D 110 b6–7; Q 374 b1–2.
[168] C 46a4; D 46a6; Q 289b7; D^2 65b2; Q^2 81a5.
[169] Cf. SLṬ: TENZIN 2002: 318.7–8; D 111 a1; Q 374 b4.
[170] Cf. SLṬ: TENZIN 2002: 319.1; D 111 a4; Q 374 b7–8.
[171] C 46a5; D 46a6; Q 289b8; D^2 65b3; Q^2 81a6.
[172] Cf. SLṬ: TENZIN 2002: 319.1–2; D 111 a4; Q 374 b8.
[173] Cf. SLṬ: TENZIN 2002: 319.5; D 111 a5; Q 375 a2.

[122]

[174] ◎ śes rab tshul khrims gtoṅ byuṅ grags chen dri ma myed ||
lha yul nam mkha daṅ ni sa steṅ rgyas mdzad ◎ nas ||
sa la myi daṅ mtho ris lha ni na cuṅ mchog || D 46b
<b>de ba<'ị> dga' la dga' rnams + [d]gur źi mdzad de || Z 57a4

a 6 byuṅ Z: 'byuṅ CDNQD^{2}N^{2}Q^2. c 10 cuṅ Z: chuṅ CDNQD^{2}N^{2}Q^2. d 1–11 bde ba'i dga' la dga' rnams + [d]gur źi mdzad de Z: bde dgas (CDD^{2}N^{2}Q^2: dga' NQ) dga' ba ṅes par rab tu źi mdzad de CDNQD^{2}N^{2}Q^2.

glosses
under a1 –b8:(2) >|| yaṅ 'di skad du bstante saṅs rgyas pa'ị rjes la sems can gyi don mdzad de mya ṅan las 'd<a> ba'ị dbyiṅs su gśegs par bstan pa'i phyir[175]
under a 1–3:(1) ṅes par 'byed pa[176]
under a 4–5:(1) ma ñams pa[177]
under a 9–11:(1) dpe zla myed pa[178]
under d 1–5:gaṅ la chags pa rnams źị bar mdzad pa'i don[179]

[123]

[180]ñon moṅs ñam thag sems can tshogs kyi 'jigs skye daṅ || Q^2 81b
'chi ba źi mdzad rgyal ba'i dbaṅ po ñid brñes nas ||
'jig rten las 'das myiṅ tsam źi la myi g.yo ba ||
myi bsñeṅs noṅs pa <<'i>> myi mṅa'i go 'phaṅ brñes par mdzod ||

a 8 N 286b. b 9 ñid ZCDD^{2}N^{2}Q^2: 'di NQ. c 10–11 g.yo ba ZN^{2}Q^2: bsñeṅs pa CDNQD^2. d 2 bsñeṅs ZN^{2}Q^2: bgres CDNQD^2. d 4–6 pa mi mṅa'i ZCDNQD^2: mi mṅa ba'i N^{2}Q^2.

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[174] C 46a5; D 46a7; Q 290a1; D^2 65b3; Q^2 81a7.
[175] Cf. SLṬ: TENZIN 2002: 319.9–12; D 111 a6–7; Q 375 a4.
[176] Cf. SLṬ: TENZIN 2002: 319.13–14; D 111 b1; Q 375 a6.
[177] Cf. SLṬ: TENZIN 2002: 319.14–15; D 111 b1; Q 375 a6.
[178] Cf. SLṬ: TENZIN 2002: 320.3; D 111 b2; Q 375 a8.
[179] Cf. SLṬ: TENZIN 2002: 320.8–9; D 111 b4; Q 375 b3.
[180] C 46a6; D 46b1; Q 290b2; D^2 65b4; Q^2 81a8.

glosses
under a 3–4:pas gzir pa[181]
under a 9–11:’jig tshogs las byuṅ[182]
under b 1–9:rgyal ba’i dbaṅ po daṅ sbyar te rgyal ba brñes nas (2) grags pa rgyas mdzad lha daṅ (3) myi yaṅ rab tu źi bar mdzad mya ṅan las (3) ’das pa yaṅ thob par bya mdzad ces (4) bya bar sbyar[183]
under c 1–4:phuṅ po lhag ma myed pa daṅ sbyar[184]
under c 7–11:du brjod pa yaṅ ’khor ba’ị gnod pa (2) myed pas[185]
under d 1–3:’jigs par bya ba myed[186]
under d 4–6:rtag pa’i phyir[187]

[124][188]

dge bśes klu yis gdams pa’i char rgyun gyis ||
mi rje rgyal po thugs kyi mtsho rgyas nas ||
rgyal srid ’khor gyi ña sbal maṅ po dag ||
skyabs mdzod re ba yid bźin skoṅs par smon ||

c 4 gyi N^2Q^2: bźi D^2. d 7–8 skoṅs par N^2Q^2: skoṅ bar D^2.

Colophon of Z:

[57a5] || bśes pa’i phrin yig || slob dpon ’phags pa na ga rdzu nas mdzad pa rdzogs so ||

|| rgya gar gyi mkhan po sar bad ña de ba daṅ | źu chen gyi lo tsa pa bande dpal brtsegs ra kśi tas bsgyurd ciṅ źus te gtan la phab p<a’> | |

[181] Cf. SLṬ: TENZIN 2002: 321.4; D 111 b7–112 a1; Q 375 b8.
[182] Cf. SLṬ: TENZIN 2002: 321.6–7; D 112 a1; Q 376 a1.
[183] Cf. SLṬ: TENZIN 2002: 321.1–4; D 111 b7; Q 375 b7–8.
[184] Cf. SLṬ: TENZIN 2002: 321.12; D 112 a3; Q 376 a4.
[185] Cf. SLṬ: TENZIN 2002: 321.18; D 112 a5; Q 376 a7.
[186] Cf. SLṬ: TENZIN 2002: 321.19; D 112 a5; Q 376 a7.
[187] Cf. SLṬ: TENZIN 2002: 322.1; D 112 a6; Q 376 a8.
[188] This stanza is added in D^2 65b4, N^2 and Q^2 81b2; it is missing from Z and CDNQ.

gla <<mya>> la myi an cuṅ gis bris || [57b1] a<n> cuṅ daṅ | ban[d]e ..[s] 'ba. [gyi]s 'og źus ||

secunda manu in a greater script size:

|| sgrib spaṅs thogs myed mkhyen ldan saṅs rgyas daṅ ||
'phags pa kun kyis bgrod pa'ị bsgrub chos daṅ ||
sa bcur gnas pa'ị byaṅ chub sems dpa' + Z 57b2
+ [']o[s] (d)[g](e) '[du]n rnams la phyag 'tshal lo || [1]

saṅs rgyas rnams kyi dam chos śin tu zab ||
rab tu rñed dka' sṅon cad goms ma byas ||
de dag mñan ciṅ bsams bsgoms ma byas par ||
th. + + gyu[rd] .y.[d] + + + [g]son || [2] Z 57b3

lha klu gnod sbyi[n] dri [za] ◎ la stsogs pa ||
dam chos gsan bźed thams cad 'dir spyon te | ◎ |
mchod pa dam pas tshul bźin mchod mdzod la ||
gus + gson te + + .b pa mdzod || [3] Z 57b4

bśes pa'i phrịn yig | rdzogso ||

tertia manu in an even greater script size:

[57b5] || bśes pa'i phrịn yig || rdzogso || naṅ rje pa blon khrom bźeṅ kyi sug yig go

Colophon in the Tanjur version:

[189]| bśes pa'i spriṅ yig slob dpon 'phags pa klu sgrub kyis | | mdza' bo rgyal po bde spyod la bskur ba rdzogs so ||
|| rgya gar gyi mkhan po sarba dzña de ba daṅ | źu chen gyi lo tsā ba [C 46b] ban de dpal brtsegs kyis bsgyur ciṅ źus te gtan la phab pa'o ||[190]

[189] C 46a7; D 46b2; Q 290a3; D^{2} 65b5; Q^{2} 81b2.
[190] C 46b1; D 46b3; N 286b3; Q 290a4; D^{2} 65b6; N^{2} 70b6; Q^{2} 81b4.

l.1 spriṅ $CDD^2N^2Q^2$: phrin NQ; dpon CDNQ: dpon chen po $D^2N^2Q^2$; 2 bde spyod CDNQ: bde spyod bzaṅ po $D^2N^2Q^2$. 3 dzña CD: dzñā $NQD^2N^2Q^2$; źu chen $CDNQD^2$: źus chen N^2Q^2; ban de CD: bande $NQD^2N^2Q^2$; brtsegs $CDD^2N^2Q^2$: rtsegs NQ.

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RE-EXAMINATION OF THE 9TH-CENTURY INSCRIPTION AT LDAN MA BRAG (II) IN EASTERN TIBET

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This study concerns the so-called Inscription II of Ldan ma brag, Ri mda', 'Byams mdun district, Brag g.yab province in Eastern Tibet. It was in 1983 that Nyima Dorjee discovered a group of four inscriptions at this place.[1] The existence of these inscriptions was made public in a newspaper in 1986.[2] The text of these inscriptions was first published in 1988 by Chab spel Tshe brtan phun tshogs.[3] In the same year, Richardson contributed a short comment on the Inscription II and identified the monkey year of the reign of *btsan po* Khri lde srong btsan *alias* Sad na legs mentioned in the inscription to be 804.[4] Finally in 1994, Heller studied them from an art historian's point of view. As for the monkey year of the Inscription II, she hesitates between two dates: 804 and 816 A.D. She writes in a note:

> The date of the monkey year is either 804 or 816 A.D. if one accepts the reign dates for Sad na legs as 804–817 according to the Tang Annals. ... In personal communication, Richardson stated that he considered 816 as the more likely date because there is no certain evidence that Bran ka dpal gyi yon tan, mentioned in this inscription, was Chief Minister before 808.[5]

From her statement, it is presumed that Richardson had subsequently changed his opinion. In a study published three years later, Heller dates the inscription to 816.[6]

It is true that there still persists among Tibetologists a certain confusion about the regnal dates of *btsan po* Khri lde srong btsan *alias* Sad na legs. It is the regnal dates of 804–817, according to the

[1] HELLER 1994: 335.
[2] ANONYMOUS 1986; HELLER 1994: 335; 341, n. 3.
[3] CHAB SPEL TSHE BRTAN PHUN TSHOGS 1988; HELLER 1994: 341, n. 3.
[4] RICHARDSON 1988: 6.
[5] HELLER 1994: 341, n. 5.
[6] HELLER 1997: 391.

Tang Annals, which Heller accepts.[7] In fact in the year 804, the death of an unidentified *btsan po*[8] is recorded in the Tang Annals and invites us to presume the ascension of a new *btsan po* to the throne.[9] In the same way, the entry for the year 817 notes the death of a certain *btsan po*.[10] However, to consider these dates respectively as the year of the ascension and that of the death is a complete mistake. As is always the case with the Chinese Annals, these dates are the years in which the report on the matter in question was received at the Imperial Court. If we take into account the time which was necessary for a mission to travel from the Tibetan capital to the Chinese Court, we have to think that in reality the matters in question took place at least one or two, sometimes more, years before the year in which their report is recorded. Chinese texts are useful in giving this indication but cannot be used alone to establish the exact chronology. This is a difficulty which a student encounters when trying to establish a Tibetan chronology from Chinese texts.[11]

In the case of the chronology of Khri lde srong btsan *alias* Sad na legs, sources other than the Chinese texts bring more precision. First, as for the end of his reign, it is obtained from the date inscribed on the East side of the 821–822 Treaty Inscription which was erected in 823 in Lhasa. There one reads:

> And this account of the agreement which is inscribed on the stone pillar was inscribed on the 14th day of the middle month of spring in the female water hare year (823) which is called the ninth year of Continuous Happiness (*skyid rtag*) in great Tibet and the third year of Changqing 長慶 in great China.[12]

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[7] HELLER 1994: 341, n. 5.

[8] It is to elucidate this problem that Erik Haarh wrote "The identity of Tsu-chih-chien, the Tibetan "king" who died in 804 AD", *Acta Orientalia* (Copenhagen), XXV, 1–2: 121–70.

[9] The *Jiu Tangshu* 旧唐書, p. 191; the *Xin Tangshu* 新唐書, 269. (All the references are to the Japanese translation of these two Chinese Annals by HISASHI SATO 1973.)

[10] The *Jiu Tangshu* (p. 193); the *Xin Tangshu* (p. 270).

[11] YOSHIRO IMAEDA 2001: 72–73.

[12] SATO 1958–59: 27–28; RICHARDSON 1985: 116–17. There are two other passages which establish this in the same way:

– the female iron-ox year year (= 821) which is called the seventh year of Continuous Happiness (*skyid rtag*) in great Tibet and the first year of Changqing in great China.

We know that Khri gtsug lde btsan was exceptional in that he had a regnal name which was *skyid rtag* ‘Continuous Happiness’, yitai 彝泰 in Chinese. Therefore as the year 823 is the ninth year of his reign, it started in 815. From the official nature of this inscription and its authenticity, this is the most reliable source for the date of his ascension to the throne. This also establishes the year 815 as the date of the end of the reign of his predecessor, Khri lde gtsug btsan.

As for the beginning of the reign of Khri lde srong btsan, because of the confusion which resulted after the death of Khri srong lde btsan, one cannot establish it firmly. However it is supposed to have started between 798[13] and 800.[14] His ascension to the throne cannot be as late as 804. This year is the year in which the report of the deaths of the *btsan pos*—Khri srong lde btsan (r.754–797) and Mu ne btsan po (r.797–798)—reached the Chinese Court. This delay can be explained by the state of continuous warfare between Tibet and China at the time.[15] Thus we come to the conclusion that the reign of Khri lde srong btsan started in 798/800 and ended in 815. As a consequence, the monkey year of the inscription of Ldan ma brag (II) can only be 804, the only monkey year which falls during the reign of Khri lde srong btsan.

With the monkey year of the inscription having been confirmed as 804, let us examine another aspect. Heller states that the monkey year refers to that of the execution of the images.[16] As an art historian whose main interest is dating the rock-carved images, it is understandable that she tries to link the monkey year to the making of images. However, as Richardson remarks in his personal communication to her, “the preamble means that the inscription was written in the monkey year, not necessarily that the events described took place in the year”.[17] In our opinion, the year in the first sentence of the inscription does not refer either to the year in which the prayers and images were made or to the year in which the inscription

– the male water-tiger year year (= 822) which is called the 8th year of Continuous Happiness in great Tibet and the second year of Changqing in great China.

13 SATO 1958–59: 588.

14 RICHARDSON 1998: 44.

15 SATO 1958–59: 586–87; HAARH 1961: 128, 131 (opinion of G. Tucci).

16 HELLER 1994: 335.

17 HELLER 1994, Appendix: 15, n. 6.

was written. To see what the monkey year refers to explicitly, let us look carefully at the text of the inscription, which in our opinion can be divided into three major parts.

I)
1) // *Spre'u gi lo'i sbyar / mtsan (= btsan) po khri lde srong brtsan gyi ring la / dge' slong chos dang chab srid kyi bka' chen po la btags ste/ gser gyi bku rgyal man cad kyi thabs rtsal (= stsal)* /
2) *jo mo mchims lta (? = bza') legs mo brtsan la rtsogs (= stsogs) pa / rjes (= rje) 'bangs* [l. 2] *mang mo zhig thar par bkyel /*
3) *bka' chen po la gtogs pa'i dge slong bran ka yon tan dang / lho don dam dang blon chen zhang 'bro phri (= khri) gzu' dam (= ram) shags ... dang nang blon ... khri sum bzheng mdo' brtsan la rtogs (= stogs) pa / chab srid la bka' rtsal (= stsal) te/ rgya dang mjal dus (= dum)* [l. 3] *kyi mgo' brtsams pa'i las la ...*

II)
1) ... [l. 4] *mkhan bod gor ye shes dbyangs dang / dge' slong stag lo gthan te dang / gad nam ka'i snying po dbynags kyis / btshan (= btsan) po'i sku mon (= yon) dang sems can thams cad kyi bsod nams su / sku gzugs dang smon lam 'di rnams bris te /*
2) *spyi'i zhing (= zhal) ta pa ni / 'or (= 'o) ngu'i* [l. 5] *gnas brtan / rlang mchog rab dang / bnyi bzang po dpal kyis bgyis /*
3) *las dpon ... dge' slong zhe hra'i dge' slong ... gseng pab shin dang yen dam yes bgyis*
4) *jo (= rdo) mkhan ... / yugs gi nyag bre shab dang shod lags (= legs) kod (= kong) dang/ ldum ma 'gam dang rgya hun bong tseng spang (= spad) dang/ hva ho'u jin rnams kyis bgyis so/*

III)
'di la rjes su yi reng (= rang) bas kyang bsod nams mnyam par thob bo/

Part II concerns the details of the image-making and Part III is a prayer wishing those who take part in this undertaking to acquire merit. As it is Part I which interests us particularly, here is its integral translation:

> I 1) In the summer of the monkey year in the reign of Khri lde srong btsan, a fully ordained monk was appointed at the High Council of Religion and State affairs (*chos dang chab srid kyi bka' chen po la btags*) with the rank of (the insignia of) gold.
> I 2) Many nobles and subjects starting with Legs mo brtsan, Queen of the Mchims clan, were brought to deliverance.
> I 3) Bran ka Yon tan, fully ordained monk, member of the High Council (*bka' chen po la gtogs pa'i dge slong*), Lho don dam, Blon chen Zhang 'Bro Khri gzu' ram shags, Nang blon ... khri sum bzheng mdo' brtsan and others were entrusted with state affairs and started the negotiations with China.

It is evident that the monkey year refers to the year in which a fully ordained monk, whose identity is not specified, was nominated to the Council of Religion and State affairs. In Part I.3 Bran ka Yon tan (= Dpal chen po) is mentioned as a fully ordained monk, a member of the High Council, with the same title as that of the monk mentioned in Part I.1. We are therefore inclined to consider that the subject of Part I.1 is Bran ka Yon tan and that the inscription is to commemorate his nomination to the High Council.

Richardson notes that there is no certain evidence that Bran ka Yon tan was chief minister before 808 (HELLER 1994, Appendix: 15, n. 7). This is based on the study by KOLMAŠ who examined four letters drafted by Bo Juyi 白居易 (772–846) in the name of the Emperor Xianzong 憲宗 and other officers, and addressed to Tibetan dignitaries.[18] In fact, one of them is written in 809 and addressed to Bochanbu 鉢闡布 (= Dpal chen po = Bran ka Yon tan), the Chief Minister of Tibet.[19] This letter proves simply that Dal chen po was already Chief Minister by 809 at the latest. A *bka' la gtogs pa*, member of Council, is not a position as high as that of *blon chen*, Chief Minister. Therefore it is not a contradiction that Dran ka Yon tan was nominated to the High Council in 804, and was Chief Minister by 809 at the latest.

The first half of the ninth century in Tibet saw the emergence of Buddhist monks in state affairs. The most prominent was without doubt Bran ka Yon tan dpal chen po who was the main negotiator of the Sino-Tibetan peace treaty of 821–822. It is not impossible that the Ldan ma brag inscription (II) was erected to commemorate the

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[18] RICHARDSON 1985: 45.
[19] KOLMAŠ 1966: 389.

nomination of Bran ka Yon tan to the High Council of Religion and State Affairs, the début of his brilliant career as statesman. The rock images must have been carved in order to commemorate this nomination.

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BUDDHIST SITES IN A MDO AND FORMER LONGYOU FROM THE 8TH TO THE 13TH CENTURY

BIANCA HORLEMANN

This paper provides an outline of the location or approximate location of pre-14th century Buddhist sites such as monasteries, temples, reliquaries[1] and caves in eastern A mdo[2] and in the overlapping area of the former Longyou Province 陇右道.[3]

In his two publications on cultural monuments in A mdo, Andreas Gruschke has pointed out that probably more than one thousand Buddhist sites existed in A mdo before 1950 and that by the year 2000 their numbers already came close to one thousand again.[4] For the post-13th century period too, when Tibetan Buddhism gained the support of the Mongol Yuan rulers and later of the Chinese Ming and the Manchu Qing courts, we are relatively well informed on the wealth of Buddhist institutions in A mdo thanks to sources such as the *A mdo chos 'byuṅ*. This 19th century work on the religious history of A mdo lists several hundred Buddhist sites, although these mainly concern the post-14th century period. For the 8th to the 13th century, however, our knowledge of the number and distribution of Buddhist institutions in Eastern A mdo is still very limited. This is not only due to a scarcity of sources, but also to the difficulties met with in the

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[1] Since Tibetan and Chinese reliquaries differ considerably in architecture (see, for example, figs. 7 and 8), I refer to reliquaries built in Tibetan style as '*mchod rten*' while using 'pagoda' for reliquaries in the Chinese style.

[2] In this paper A mdo designates the area of northeastern Tibet which covers most of today's Qinghai Province and part of Gansu and Sichuan Province. The Yul śul/ Yushu and Naṅ chen/ Nangqian areas which are now part of Qinghai Province, were traditionally regarded by Tibetans as being part of Khams and are thus not covered in this paper. It is noteworthy, however, that these areas were marked by brisk monastic building activities especially during the 12th century; see Pu 2001: 359–60.

[3] The area that was formerly called Longyou 'Province' or 'Circuit' during the Tang Dynasty (618–906) roughly corresponds to the area of today's Gansu Province in the PRC.

[4] See Gruschke 2001[b]: 17.

available Tibetan and Chinese sources.[5] Nevertheless, there are many indications that Buddhism was thriving in the A mdo/ Longyou border region as early as the 5th century and has continued to do so with only relatively short interruptions up to the present day. The numerous and large Buddhist cave systems along the Sino-Tibetan border clearly demonstrate the strong influence that Buddhism exerted in this area.[6] Furthermore, the 8th to 13th century monasteries were probably not only plentiful but some—if not many—were also quite large. See, for example the reference to the 1,500 monks of the Shengrong Monastery (see site no. 9). With no more than ninety Buddhist sites, the tables presented in this paper are therefore by no means comprehensive but merely offer a glimpse of 'the tip of the iceberg'.

SOURCES

During research for my Ph.D. dissertation on the 11th/ 12th century Tsoṅ kha region,[7] I found several references to Chinese and Tibetan Buddhist sites in eastern A mdo and Longyou. I attempted to identify and localise these sites by matching them with monasteries and temples mentioned in other Tibetan and Chinese historical works related to the pre-14th century period. The preliminary results of this endeavour are presented in this paper. However, I assume that many more references to Buddhist sites can be found, for instance, in Chinese and Tibetan hagiographical and biographical sources as well as in the many Chinese local gazetteers which I had no opportunity to consult more extensively.

Since not all the pre-14th century Buddhist sites have vanished or fallen into oblivion, I have also consulted modern works such as the two publications by Gruschke already mentioned above, the *Tibet Handbook* by Gyurme Dorje and several Chinese publications such

[5] This will be discussed in more detail below.

[6] In China the carving and decoration of Buddhist caves eventually became a collective enterprise undertaken by people from all walks of life in order to accumulate merit. For more information on the Gansu Buddhist caves see below.

[7] See HORLEMANN 2004.

as the *Qinghai simiao taku* 青海寺庙塔窟 and the *Gan Qing zangchuan fojiao siyuan* 甘青藏传佛教寺院 to name just a few.[8] In these, I found further references to present-day Buddhist sites which are supposed to pre-date the 14th century. Unfortunately, the sources for these claims were rarely stated and many might be based on oral tradition rather than on written sources. Samten Karmay has also cautioned us against modern legend-building as, for instance, in the case of the so-called 'Temple of the Chinese princess Mun śeṅ *koṅ jo*/ Wencheng *gongzhu* 文成公主' in 'Bis khog in Yul śul. Instead of dating back to the 7th century as is now often assumed, the temple was probably only established in the early 9th century.[9] However, the tradition was at least correct with regard to its assignation to the Tibetan imperial period. Therefore I also took into consideration those present-day sites which are traditionally assumed to pre-date the 14th century.

PROBLEMS OF IDENTIFICATION AND LOCALISATION

The reciprocal identification of Tibetan and Chinese place names and their exact localisation is often severely complicated by the ambiguity of Tibetan and Chinese toponyms.

If we take, for example, the Tibetan term *khams/ 'khams/ gams*: in early Tibetan sources—if used as a toponym—it usually does not designate the area of today's Khams, but instead it appears to be a commonly used abbreviation for 'Mdo gams/ khams' probably indicating today's A mdo region.[10] This is also obvious in connection

[8] See PENG 1998 and PU 1996 as well as NIAN/ BAI (1993) *Qinghai zangchuan fojiao siyuan mingjian* 青海藏转佛教寺院明鉴 and LI ET AL. (1999) *Gansu kuta simiao* 甘肃窟塔寺庙. Some of the publications such as GRUSCHKE and LI are also of great value with regard to the numerous images they provide. I would like to thank Katia Buffetrille and Karl Ryavec for having drawn my attention to some of the aforementioned publications.

[9] See KARMAY 1997: 479–80.

[10] Apart from being used in the general meaning of 'realm' or 'border area,' *khams* not only appears to be an abbreviation of mDo khams/ gams, but sometimes also of bDe khams/ gams. Whereas bDe khams presumably designates the former Tibetan border province that covered the Gansu Corridor and some adjacent areas,

with the narratives concerning the *phyi dar*, the Second Propagation of Buddhism in Tibet. Although many of the great Lamas of the *phyi dar* period as, for instance, the so-called *mkhas pa mi gsum*, 'The Three Learned Men',[11] as well as dGoṅs pa Rab gsal and his disciples, clearly pursued their religious activities in the rMa chu/ Huanghe 黄河 area in Eastern A mdo, they are often referred to as having been active in 'Khams'.[12]

Chinese toponyms are also often highly ambivalent as, for instance, in the case of 'Shanzhou 善州'/ Shan Prefecture: Shanzhou does not only designate an administrative region as a whole, but also the seat of the prefecture. Furthermore, the same toponym Shanzhou also designates different prefectural seats and areas at different times. When the Longyou area was under Chinese control, the seat of the Shan Prefecture during the Tang Dynasty (618–906) was in present-day Gro tshaṅ/ Ledu 乐都, whereas during the Northern Song Dynasty (960–1127) it was in present-day Zi liṅ/ Xining 西宁 (see map 2, Fig. 2). Furthermore, the size of both the Tang and Song Shan Prefectures differed considerably[13] The Chinese also frequently duplicated place names: for instance, during the Tang Dynasty modern Zi liṅ/ Xining was called Shancheng 善城, 'walled settlement of Shan'. while present day Gro tshaṅ/ Ledu was called Shanzhou, 'Shan Prefecture'. It was also common to rename places: for instance, modern Zi liṅ/ Xining was called Shancheng during the

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the extent of the territory of mDo khams still remains uncertain. It is often understood to have covered the whole area of today's A mdo and Khams. However, if we look at Tibetan pre-14th century historiographic literature, most of the place names mentioned in connection with *khams* or mDo khams are actually located in A mdo and not in today's Khams. To give just a few examples: "Khams gyi dByar mo thaṅ" in *lDe'u chos 'byuṅ* by LDE'U JO SRAS 1987: 134 (for the alleged location of dByar mo thaṅ see fn. 59); "Khams kyi Gleṅ thaṅ, Bod mDo khamsu Gleṅ thaṅ" in *Chos 'byuṅ me tog sñiṅ po* in MEISEZAHL 1985: plate 176, 3, 5–6 and 177, 1, 3. The usage and the extent of 'Khams' and its compounds at different stages of Tibetan history remain to be further investigated. See also UEBACH 1990: 405–406, GRUSCHKE 2001[a]: 11–12 and DOTSON/ HAZOD 2009: 40, 168.

[11] The *mkhas pa mi gsum* are dMar Śakyamuni, gYo dGe 'byuṅ and gTsaṅ Rab gsal.

[12] See, for example, the 14th century work *rGyal rabs gsal ba'i me loṅ* 1996: 240–43 passim. For Buddhist sites in Eastern A mdo traditionally associated with 'The Three Learned Men' and with dGoṅs pa Rab gsal see sites 15, 16, 52, 57–60, 62, 63 and 68.

[13] See the maps in TAN 1982–1987, vol. V: 61–62 and vol. VI: 20–21.

Tang Dynasty, but just during the Northern Song Dynasty alone the name was changed to Qingtang 青唐, then to Shanzhou and later to Xining.

These ambiguities, which already exist within one language, make it even more difficult to match Tibetan and Chinese toponyms. If we take, for instance, the Tibetan place name 'Gog cu',[14] it is usually identified with a place or an area near the rMa chu/ Huanghe opposite modern gCan tsha/ Jianza 尖扎, and 'Gog cu' is most likely the Tibetan phonetic rendering of the Chinese toponym 'Kuozhou 廓州'. However, this does not mean that the place or area designated Gog cu by the Tibetans was identical with the Chinese place or area of Kuozhou, although they probably at least overlapped. Again, the size of the Chinese Kuo Prefecture varied over time. During the Tang Dynasty it also comprised the area of Khri kha/ Guide 贵德 whereas the Kuozhou of the Northern Song was a rather small area just around the seat of the prefecture.[15] Unfortunately, we don't know whether the size of the Tibetan Gog cu also differed accordingly.

If we now turn to Chinese and Tibetan designations for Buddhist sites, we encounter similar problems. Monasteries were also frequently renamed, for example after renovations and reconstructions or after changing the affiliation from one Buddhist school to another. Thus the same establishment might be known by different names at different times. Furthermore, monasteries were sometimes moved to a new location but kept the old name. Branch monasteries were sometimes known by the same name as the mother monastery, but non-related monasteries might also share the same name.

The reader should keep these difficulties in mind when looking at the following tables and the two accompanying maps. Furthermore, it has to be noted that most of the still-existing sites listed in this paper are not the original pre-14th century structures but have been frequently reconstructed and renovated up to the present day.

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[14] The Tibetan orthography varies between 'Gog cu/ Gog chu/ Kog cu' etc. and it is sometimes confused with similar toponyms such as 'Ga cu/ Go chu/ Hezhou 河州'.

[15] See the maps mentioned in fn. 13.

TABLES AND MAPS

Table 1 lists 8th to 10th century Buddhist sites in eastern A mdo and Longyou based on pre-11th century sources. Table 2 contains a list of 11th to 13th century Buddhist sites based on pre-14th century sources. While some of the sites in tables 1 and 2 can be localised, others are known by name only. Table 3 supplements table 1 with those sites which allegedly pre-date the 11th century according to post-10th century sources, and table 4 supplements table 2 with those sites which are supposed to pre-date the 14th century according to post-13th century sources.

Finally, the two accompanying maps provide the approximate location of the already-identified 8th to 13th century Buddhist sites according to their location in Northeastern A mdo and former Longyou (map 1) or Southeastern A mdo and former Longyou (map 2) with the site numbers of the tables corresponding to those on the maps.

Table 1: 8th to 10th century Buddhist sites in A mdo and former Longyou according to pre-11th century sources

I. Location identified:

The long string of Buddhist cave temples along the so-called 'Silk Roads', stretching from Afghanistan over East Turkestan and the Gansu Corridor towards the former Chinese capital of Chang'an/ modern Xi'an, bears ample witness to the past significance of Buddhism in this part of the world. Most of these caves, on which work had often already begun in the 4th or 5th century, flourished especially from the 7th to the 14th century and are still extant today. The caves along the Gansu Corridor, i.e. along the northern fringe of the Tibetan cultural area, are also often closely related to the history of Tibetan Buddhism.[16]

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[16] There are numerous—around 30—Buddhist caves in Northeast and Southeast Gansu which I have not listed because from today's point of view these cave systems seem rather detached from Tibetan cultural areas. However, it should be noted that during the Song and Yuan Dynasties these areas were still largely inhabited by so-

1. Dunhuang xi Qianfodong 敦煌西千佛洞. These Buddhist caves are located circa 40 km west of the famous Mogao caves of former Śa cu/ Shazhou 沙洲, modern Ton hoṅ/ Dunhuang 敦煌. According to archaeological and art-historic evidence as well as according to later Chinese sources, work on them was initiated at about the same time as on the Mogao caves, i.e. in about the 4th century.[17]

2. Mogao shiku 莫高石窟. These Buddhist caves are located south of former Śa cu/ Shazhou, modern Ton hoṅ/ Dunhuang. Work on them was initiated in the 4th century according to archaeological and art-historic evidence as well as according to later Chinese sources. They are well known for their art works, including those produced under Tibetan domination during the 8th/ 9th century, as well as for the treasure of the so-called Dunhuang Documents.[18]

3. Yulin ku 榆林窟/ Wanfoxia 万佛峡. These Buddhist caves are located circa 60 km south of Kwa cu/ Guazhou 瓜州, modern Anxi 安西. Work on them was initiated in the 5th century according to archaeological and art-historic evidence as well as according to later Chinese sources.[19] This cave system has been suggested as the possible former location of the Tibetan De ga g.yu tshal gtsug lag khaṅ (see site no. 28).[20]

4. (For site no. 4 see table 2.)

5. Changma shiku 昌马石窟. These Buddhist caves are located circa 65 km southeast of Yumen 玉门, the famous so-called 'Jade Gate' towards East Turkestan. Work on them was initiated in the 5th

called 'tribes/ 部落' which were closely related to the Tangut Xixia Empire and/ or the multi-ethnic Tsoṅ kha tribal confederation. Other Buddhist sites such as monasteries, reliquaries and temples located in Gansu's easternmost parts also remain unlisted in this paper. For more information on these sites—including many photos—see LI 1999.

[17] See LI 1999: 174–75, DUNNELL 1996: 96–99 and *Zhongguo mingsheng cidian* 1981: 1062.

[18] See *Zhongguo mingsheng cidian* 1981: 1069–71 and LI 1999: 150–73. Furthermore, in Dunhuang Document Stein Ch. 73 we find a long list of monastic names in Tibetan associated with the Śa cu/ Shazhou, modern Ton hoṅ/ Dunhuang area which has been published in transcription with translation in Thomas 1951: 87–92. However, this list needs further research and has therefore not been included in this paper.

[19] See LI 1999: 138–47.

[20] See KAPSTEIN 2009 and SCHERRER-SCHAUB 2002: 291 fn. 87.

century according to archaeological and art-historic evidence as well as according to later Chinese sources.[21]

6. Wenshushan shiku 文殊山石窟/ Mañjuśrī Mountain Caves. These Buddhist caves are located circa 15 km south of Jiuquan 酒泉 respectively Jiayuguan 嘉峪关. Work on them was initiated in the 5th century according to archaeological and art-historic evidence as well as according to later Chinese sources.[22]

7. Wanshousi muta 万寿寺木塔. The monastery and its wooden pagoda are located in former Kam cu/ Ganzhou 甘州, modern Kraṅ ye/ Zhangye 张掖. They were originally established during the 6th century according to archaeological and art-historic evidence as well as according to later Chinese sources.[23]

8. rTa rjes dgon/ Matisi 马蹄寺. These Buddhist caves and other nearby cave systems such as Jintasi 金塔寺 are located circa 60 km south of former Kam cu/ Ganzhou, modern Kraṅ ye/ Zhangye. Work on them was initiated in the 4th/ 5th century according to archaeological and art-historic evidence as well as according to later Chinese sources.[24] The *A mdo chos 'byuṅ* also associates the site with King Gesar.[25]

9. Shengrongsi 圣容寺/ Ruixiangsi 瑞相寺/ Gantongsi 感通寺. This monastery, which allegedly dates back to the 6th century, is located circa 10 km north of Yongchang 永昌 County seat and has only recently been rebuilt, i.e. in 2004.[26] Its foundation is associated with many legends, which—together with its main attraction, the still extant rock carving of a Buddha image—are also depicted in the Mogao caves (see site no. 2) and mentioned in several Dunhuang Documents. Furthermore, apart from a stele dating from 742, there still exist multi-language rock inscriptions which probably date back

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21 See LI 1999: 135–38.

22 See LI 1999: 132–35, 555–59.

23 See *Zhongguo mingsheng cidian* 1981: 1063 and LI 1999: 217–20.

24 See GRUSCHKE 2001[b]: 24–25 and LI 1999: 120–25 for Matisi and ibid 1999: 126–32 for Jintasi.

25 See *A mdo chos 'byuṅ* 1987: 148.

26 Yongchang is situated between former Leṅ cu/ Liangzhou, modern Wuwei, and former Kam cu/ Ganzhou, modern Zhangye. There seems to exist another monastery by the name of Shengrongsi which has been founded during the 14th century and which is situated southwest of Minqin 民勤 County seat. See GUO 2007: 184–85.

to the Tangut Xixia era. The site was obviously of outstanding regional importance during the Sui and Tang Dynasty and one of the two remaining pagodas contains a reference to 1,500 ‘foreign’ monks/ 番僧, which is a further indication of the former magnitude of this monastery.[27] This site might be related to site no. 22 or 23.[28]

10. Hongzangsi 弘/ 宏藏寺/ Tianci’an 天赐庵/ Dayunsi 大云寺/ Huguosi 护国寺. This monastery was located in former (mKhar tsan) Leṅ cu/ Liangzhou 凉州, modern Wu’u we/ Wuwei 武威. According to written and archaeological evidence, the monastery was first established as Hongzangsi during the 4th century and then under the reign of the Chinese empress Wu Zetian (r. 690–705) first renamed Tianci’an and later Dayunsi. Under Tangut rule during the 11th/ 12th century it was called Huguosi.[29]

11. Tiantishan shiku 天梯山石窟/ Dafosi 大佛寺. These Buddhist caves are located circa 50 km south of former Leṅ cu/ Liangzhou, modern Wu’u we/ Wuwei. Work on them was initiated in the 4th/ 5th century according to archaeological and art-historic evidence as well as according to later Chinese sources.[30]

12. Ganglong shiku 岗龙石窟. These Buddhist caves and carvings are situated in dPa ri/ Moṅ yon/ Menyuan 门源 and, although they still remain undated, they are reminiscent of the Matisi caves (see site 8).[31]

13. Tuloushan jiuku shibadong 土楼山九窟十八洞/ Beishansi 北山寺. These Buddhist caves are located just north of Zi liṅ/ Xining and were originally initiated in the 4th/ 5th century according to

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[27] See LI 1999: 215–16 and ZHU 2007: 26–35. The latter publication also contains several photos.

[28] The famous Gantong-Stūpa associated with Aśoka relics described by DUNNELL 1996: 93 – 98 might in fact be one of the two pagodas of the Shengrongsi which was also called Gantongsi, i.e. Gantong Monastery.

[29] See *Zhongguo mingsheng cidian* 1981: 1059, LI 1999: 499–501 and CHAVANNES 1902: 6, 42. The great earthquake of 1927 obviously destroyed most of the monastery. Only the bell tower and a temple bell dating back to the Tang Dynasty are still extant as well as a temple inscription dating back to the 16th century which records the monastic history. The monastery was probably renamed once again in 731 as Kaiyuansi 开元寺; see DUNNELL 1996: 87–109.

[30] See LI 1999: 117–20.

[31] See GRUSCHKE 2001[a]: 101–102 and YU 2005: 108.

archaeological and art-historic evidence as well as according to later Chinese sources. The eastern caves contain fragments of Tibetan style and the other caves of Chinese style Buddhist paintings. The present temple buildings in the immediate vicinity belong to a Daoist site named Tulouguan 土楼观 which shows strong traits of Daoist-Buddhist syncretism.[32]

14. Byams pa ’bum gliṅ (in Chinese called Longxingsi 龙兴寺 during the Tang, Lingyansi 灵岩寺 during the Song and Binglingsi 炳灵寺 since the Ming Dynasty). These Buddhist caves are located southwest of Lanzhou 兰州. Work on Buddhist paintings and sculptures was originally initiated in the 4th/ 5th century according to archaeological and art-historic evidence.[33] The *A mdo chos ’byuṅ* also associates the site with the Tang princess Wencheng, i.e. Mun śeṅ *koṅ jo*.[34]

15. An chuṅ dben sa[35]/ Aqiong nanzongsi 阿琼南宗寺. Located in the An chuṅ gnam rdzoṅ area south of the rMa chu between Khri kha/ Guide 贵德 and gCan tsha/ Jianza 尖扎, this site has been in existence since at least the 9th century.[36] It belongs to the so-called ‘*mdo smad kyi rdzoṅ chen bźi*/ the four cliffs of A mdo’ (see sites 58 to 60), and has a long history as an important meditation and power place. It is also traditionally associated with the *mkhas pa mi gsum*.[37] Other monasteries or temples of considerable age seem to have been located in the vicinity of An chuṅ dben sa as well.[38]

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32 See GRUSCHKE 2001[a]: 43 and PENG 1998: 371–77, 400–405. Unfortunately, the caves are largely dilapidated and inaccessible to the public.

33 See *Zhongguo mingsheng cidian* 1981: 1059 and GRUSCHKE 2001[b]: 25–26. MA 2007b: 30 even claims that the rock carvings were already started in the 3rd century.

34 See *A mdo chos ’byuṅ* 1987: 16, 227.

35 Variants: An cuṅ dben sa, A chuṅ/ A luṅ/ Aṅ chuṅ/ Aṅ luṅ gnam rdzoṅ.

36 See Dunhuang Document PT 996 which dates approximately from the 9th century and has been published in facsimile in LALOU 1939: 518–21.

37 See *A mdo chos ’byuṅ* 1987: 178 and the biography of dGoṅs pa Rab gsal by the Third Thu’u bkwan Blo bzaṅ chos gyi ñi ma (1737–1802) published in transcription and translation in WATSON 1978: 263–85.

38 See, for example, the nunnery A chuṅ gnam rdzoṅ bsam gtan chos ’phel gliṅ, which is supposed to have been established during the 12th century, see BDE SKYID SGROL MA 2002: 227–32.

16. Dan tig śan[39]/ Dandousi 丹斗寺. Located southeast of Ba yan mkhar/ Hualong 华隆 and north of rDo sbis/ Xunhua 循化, the monastery has been in existence since at least the 9th century.[40] The *A mdo chos 'byuṅ* associates the site not only with dGoṅs pa Rab gsal and the *mkhas pa mi gsum*, 'The Three Learned Men', but also with Padmasambhava.[41]

II. Exact location unidentified:

17. Tsoṅ ka gser kaṅ g.yu khaṅ.[42] This monastery was probably located in either Tsoṅ kha che or Tsoṅ kha chuṅ[43] and must have

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[39] Variants: lDan tig śel gyi dgon/ lha khaṅ.

[40] See Dunhuang Document Stein MS 83 which dates approximately from the 8th/ 9th century. A transcription with translation has been published in THOMAS 1927: 546–58; for the reference to Dan tig see *ibid*.: 551–52. The document provides information on the pilgrimage route of a Chinese monk travelling from Wutaishan in China via Gansu towards India.

[41] See *A mdo chos 'byuṅ* 1987: 17, 222.

[42] *gSer khaṅ g.yu khaṅ*, 'gold(en) house turquoise house', or just *gser khaṅ* appears to be a common appellation for a monastery or temple in pre-14th century Tibet. This designation might refer to the gilded statues and/ or other gilded ornaments of the temple and to the turquoise tiles used for the roof or also inside the buildings. For the description of such a monastery see the 11th century Chinese source *Qingtang lu* in *Shuofu* vol. 4, 35: 12r–12v.

[43] The exact locations of Tsoṅ kha che and Tsoṅ kha chuṅ remain unidentified. Both are mentioned in the Old Tibetan Annals (OTA) from where it appears that they might correspond to the Chinese 'Shanzhou'; see OTA in BACOT *et al*. 1940: 18, 39, 57, 58, 64, 65. However, one can only speculate whether Tsoṅ kha che, for instance, designates the Shan Prefecture and Tsoṅ kha chuṅ either Shancheng, i.e. Zi liṅ/ Xining, or the prefectural seat of Shanzhou in Gro tshaṅ/ Ledu. Furthermore, there exists a Tsoṅ kha mkhar/ modern Ping'an 平安 which is situated half way between Ledu and Xining and which was already referred to as the walled settlement of Zongge (phonetically for Tsoṅ kha) in Chinese sources in the 11th century.

Each of the two *lDe'u chos 'byuṅ* mentions a Dharma college Tsoṅ ka chen po and lCoṅ khaṅ chen mo respectively, which might perhaps refer to Tsoṅ ka gser kaṅ g.yu khaṅ. Furthermore, the designation *chen po/ chen mo* might also indicate the location of the Dharma college in Tsoṅ kha che. For the reference in the *lDe'u chos 'byuṅ* by LDE'U JO SRAS (henceforth called *lDe'u chos 'byuṅ* I) see *lDe'u chos 'byuṅ* I 1987: 136, l. 7 and for the one by MKHAS PA LDE'U (henceforth called *lDe'u chos 'byuṅ* II) see *lDe'u chos 'byuṅ* II 1987: 357, l. 4. It is uncertain whether both *lDe'u chos 'byuṅ* were written by the same author, however, both probably date from the 13th century; see MARTIN 1997: 43, 44, no. 54, 55.

been established at least in the 9th century.[44] It might be related to site no. 30 or 57.

18. Ga lu/ cu ser khaṅ g.yu gaṅ. This monastery was probably located in or near Ga cu/ Hezhou 河州, present day Linxia 临夏, and must have been established at least since the 9th century.[45] It might be related to site no. 32, 35, 36, 43 or 64–67.

19. [bŹugs?] pi khaṅ. This site was probably a monastery or a temple located in or near Leṅ cu/ Liangzhou, present day Wu'u we/ Wuwei, and must have been established at least in the 9th century.[46] The name is only partly legible but might be reconstructed as containing the name of the abbot bŹugs pi,[47] since monasteries were not only called by their proper names but were also sometimes referred to by the name of their abbot. It might be related to site no. 9, 10, 47 or 48.

20. To le'u. This site was probably a monastery or temple located in or near Te'u chu[48]/ Taozhou 洮州, present day Lintan 临潭, and must have been established at least in the 9th century.[49]

21. 'Sprin chen gtsug lag khaṅ/ Dayunsi 大云寺. This monastery was probably located in or near Ton hoṅ/ Dunhuang and is likely to have existed at least since the late 7th/ early 8th century, because according to an edict of 690 by empress Wu Zetian, every Chinese prefecture/ *zhou* had to establish a Dayun monastery.[50]

22. Luṅ/ Lhuṅ poṅ lha gaṅ/ sde. This monastery was probably located somewhere between Leṅ cu/ Liangzhou, modern Wu'u we/ Wuwei, and Śa cu/ Shazhou, modern Ton hoṅ/ Dunhuang. It must

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44 See Dunhuang Document Stein MS 83 in THOMAS 1927: 551–52. Dunhuang Document PT 996 in LALOU 1939: 518–21 also mentions a monastery called 'Tsoṅ ka'.

45 See Dunhuang Document Stein MS 83 in THOMAS 1927: 551–52.

46 See Dunhuang Document Stein MS 83 in THOMAS 1927: 551–52.

47 bŹugs pi is mentioned as an abbot in the Dunhuang Document Stein MS 83 in THOMAS 1927: 549–50 which also contains the reference to "[…] pi khaṅ".

48 For the occurrence of the toponym Te'u chu/ cu which is generally assumed to designate the Chinese 'Taozhou', see, for example, OTA in BACOT *et al*. 1940: 39, 63.

49 See Dunhuang Document Stein MS 83 in THOMAS 1927: 549–50.

50 According to the itinerary presented in Dunhuang Document Stein MS 83 in THOMAS 1927: 553–55, the monastery might also have been situated somewhere in between Liangzhou/ Wuwei and Shazhou/ Dunhuang, i.e. in Kam cu/ Ganzhou, present day Zhangye, or Kwa cu/ Guazhou 瓜州, present day Anxi 安西. For the existence of a Dayun Monastery in Liangzhou/ Wuwei see above site no. 10.

have been established at least in the 9th century[51] and might be related to site no. 9.

23. ’Od snaṅ. This site was probably located close to or east of Luṅ poṅ (see site no. 22) and must have been established at least since the 9th century.[52] It might be related to site no. 9.

24. Gog/ Go/ Goṅ (b)cu’i chos gra. This or these Dharma colleges might have been situated in or near Gog cu/ Kuozhou, i.e. near modern gCan tsha/ Jianza, but probably north of the rMa chu/ Huanghe.[53] It or they must have been established at least in the 10th century and one of them might be related to site no. 31.

25. mDo gams gyi chos gra. The location of this or these Dharma colleges is uncertain since mDo gams designates a rather large area.[54] It or they must have been established at least in the 10th century.[55]

26. Kam (b)cu’i chos gra. This or these Dharma colleges were probably located in or near Kam cu/ Ganzhou, present day Kraṅ ye/ Zhangye, and must have been established at least in the 10th century.[56] It or they might be related to site 7 or 45.

27. Slar yam yog dben sa. This site was supposedly a former hermitage of Nam kha’i sñiṅ po in Khri ga moṅ yog mda’[57] and probably situated near Khri kha/ Guide. It must have been established at least in the 9th century.[58]

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51 See Dunhuang Document Stein MS 83 in THOMAS 1927: 554–57.

52 See Dunhuang Document Stein MS 83 in THOMAS 1927: 556–57.

53 See Dunhuang Document Stein Ch. 0021 which dates approximately from the 9th/ 10th century. The manuscript has been published in facsimile in THOMAS 1955: I and in transcription with translation in THOMAS 1951: 85–87. See also UEBACH 1990: 408–409. The toponym Gog (b)cu in line 5 appears to have been misspelled and later corrected either from Goṅ bcu to Gog bcu or from Gog bcu to Goṅ bcu. Further down the same line we also find Goṅ bu (or cu).

54 See fn. 10. If it was in fact only one college, perhaps it was referred to as mDo gams gyi chos gra, because it was ‘the’ most important or influential *chos gra* in A mdo or because it was located at the Tibetan governmental or military headquarters of mDo gams. It might be related to site no. 28.

55 See Dunhuang Document Stein Ch. 0021 in THOMAS 1955: I, line 3, and THOMAS 1951: 85–86.

56 See Dunhuang Document Stein Ch. 0021 in THOMAS 1955: I, line 4, and THOMAS 1951: 85–86.

57 This place has not been identified.

58 See Dunhuang Document PT 996 in LALOU 1939: 518–21.

28. De ga g.yu tshal gtsug lag khaṅ. This monastery or temple was probably situated in bKra śis dbyar mo thaṅ[59] in mDo gams and was established in around the mid-9th century.[60]

Table 2: 11th to 13th century Buddhist sites in A mdo and former Longyou according to pre-14th century sources

I. Location identified:

4. Anxi dong Qianfodong shiku 安西东千佛洞石窟. These Buddhist caves are located some 60 km southeast of Kwa cu/ Guazhou 瓜州, modern Anxi 安西, and were initiated under the late Xixia Dynasty during the 12 century and continued under the Mongol Yuan Dynasty according to archaeological and art-historic evidence, as well as according to later Chinese sources.[61]

29. Dafosi 大佛寺/ Hongrensi 宏仁寺/ Wofosi 卧佛寺. This monastery is situated in former Kam cu/ Ganzhou, modern Kraṅ ye/ Zhangye, and was established in 1098 under Tangut rule.[62]

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[59] Variant: gYer mo thaṅ, gYar mo thang. bKra śis dbyar mo thaṅ in mDo gams has not been localised with certainty yet. It is usually assumed to be an area near Lake Kokonor. While some authors point more towards the area southwest of Lake Kokonor, e.g. the eastern part of the Byaṅ thaṅ (see GRUSCHKE 2001[a]: 81), others suppose it was located east or northeast of the lake (see UEBACH 1991: 501–502). UEBACH also mentions a reference in the collected works of Bla ma ’Phags pa which indicates a location to the southeast of Lake Kokonor; *ibid*.: 522. This seems to agree with the *A mdo chos ’byuṅ* where gYer mo thaṅ occurs at least four times with slightly varying descriptions; see *A mdo chos ’byuṅ* 1987: 1, 21, 53, 217. The Historical Atlas of China, vol. 7, map 36–37, indicates a “Yemotang” 耶摩塘 during the Mongol Yuan Dynasty northwest of Lake Kokonor. For the continuing discussions on its location see also KAPSTEIN 2009, DOTSON and HAZOD 2009: 41–42, 168 and HUANG 2009. The latter suggests that De ga g.yu tshal was situated in modern Chengxian 成县 in Southeast Gansu. We obviously need to take into consideration that the toponym shifted geographically over the centuries just as the meaning of mDo khams, mdDo smad etc. did; see fn. 10.

[60] See Dunhuang Document Stein PT 16 and IO 751 (formerly Stein Ch. 9) which date approximately from the 9th century. A facsimile has been published in MACDONALD and IMAEDA, vol. 1, 1978: pl. 7–16. A transcription with translation of IO 751 is provided in THOMAS 1951: 92–109.

[61] See LI 1999: 148–50.

[62] See *Zhongguo mingsheng cidian* 1981: 1062 and LI 1999: 544–49.

30. Unnamed monastery and reliquary west of Qingtang/ Shanzhou, modern Zi liṅ/ Xining. The reliquary was built by the Tsoṅ kha ruler Aligu at the end of the 11th century.[63] The monastery might be related to the 8th/ 9th century Tsoṅ ka gser kaṅ g.yu khaṅ (see site no. 17)[64] and/ or the Dharma college Tsoṅ ka chen po/ lCoṅ khaṅ chen mo.[65]

II. Exact location unidentified:

31. Unnamed monastery in Kuozhou. One of the wives of Jiaosiluo,[66] a 11th century Tsoṅ kha ruler, entered this monastery to become a nun. It might be related to site no. 24.[67]

32. Unnamed monastery in Gongxincheng 贡心城/ Duoseng-cheng 多僧城/ Yigongcheng 移公城.[68] This monastery was probably situated in or near rDo sbis/ Xunhua or in Hezhou, present-day Linxia, and was the place where Jiaosiluo was initially installed.[69] It might be related to site 18, 35, 36, 43, 64–66.[70]

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[63] See *Qingtang lu* by LI YUAN in *Shuofu* vol. 4, 35: 12v and 11th century *Jueshui ji* by Li Fu 3: 4r. It should be noted that at about the same time that Aligu built the reliquary in Tsoṅ kha, the Tangut ruler Chongzong (r. 1086–1139) rebuilt the Gantong pagoda in the Huguosi in Liangzhou (see site no. 10) and/ or in the Shengrongsi in Yongchang (see site no. 9) while the Khitan ruler Daozong (r. 1055–1101) erected the famous pagoda in Datong/ Shaanxi. See Dunnell 1996: 93–98 and Hansen 2000: 309–11.

[64] The Chinese place name Qingtang 青唐, which is also—although only rarely—written as 'Qingtang 青堂/ Blue-green hall', might derive from the Tibetan 'gYu khaṅ/ Turquoise house' in Tsoṅ ka gser kaṅ g.yu khaṅ. For another theory concerning this place name see Tshe brten rdo rje's/ Caidan Duojie's forthcoming publication on the Tsoṅ kha kingdom.

[65] See fn. 43.

[66] The Tibetan name of Jiaosiluo/ variants: Juesiluo/ Gusiluo is usually reconstructed either as *rGyal sras or *Jo sras. See also HORLEMANN 2004.

[67] See *Mengxi bitan* by SHEN GUA 25: 32 and *Songshi* by TUOTUO 40: 14.163. See also HORLEMANN 2004.

[68] These three toponyms most probably all designate the same place. See also HORLEMANN 2004.

[69] See *Songshi* by TUOTUO 40: 14.160 and TANG/ LIU 1986: 73. (TANG/ LIU is an easily accessible anthology of all the references to Tsoṅ kha and the southern Ordos region in the 12th century historical work *Xu zizhi tongjian changbian* of LI TAO.) The *Song huiyao jigao* by XU SONG, *bing* 兵 9, mentions that Yigongcheng 一公城 was renamed Xunhua 循化 in 1103. Furthermore, the Chinese toponym Yi 移/ Yi

33. Zhongshansi 冢山寺. This monastery was probably situated near Qingtang/ modern Xining or in the area under the influence of the 11th century tribal leader Guizhang.[71]

34. Jiqingsi 积庆寺. This monastery was situated near 11th century Xiangzicheng 香子城, modern Hezheng 和政, in Hezhou/ modern Linxia.[72]

35. Guomensi 国门寺/ Guomangsi 郭莽寺. This monastery was situated in or near Hezhou, modern Linxia 临夏.[73] It might be related to site 18, 32, 43, 64–67.

36. Guangde chanyuan 广德禅院.[74] This Zen/ Chan monastery was situated in or near Hezhou, modern Linxia,[75] and might be related to site 18, 32, 43, 64–67.

37. Guangren chanyuan 广仁禅院. This Zen/ Chan monastery was established under the patronage of the Song emperor in 1074 and was situated southwest of former Minzhou 岷州, modern Minxian 岷县.[76]

一/ Yegong(cheng) 叶公(城) might be a phonetic derivation of the Tibetan 'gYu gaṅ' as in Ga cu ser khaṅ g.yu gaṅ. Ga cu, however, is usually identified with Hezhou, modern Linxia.

70 The modern Chinese edition of the *A mdo chos 'byuṅ* 1989: 181, fn. 2, suggests that Yigongcheng might be related to Reb goṅ/ Tongren 同仁 which, however, seems rather unlikely.

71 See TANG/ LIU 1986: 425.

72 See *Dongdu shilüe* by WANG CHENG 3: 1.256.

73 See *Mengxi bitan* by SHEN GUA 25: 33 and TANG/ LIU 1986: 328.

74 During the Song Dynasty monasteries were divided into different categories. They were regarded either as 'public' or 'private' and further divided into *jiao yuan* 教院, 'teaching monasteries', *lü yuan* 律院, 'vinaya monasteries', and *chan yuan* 禅院, 'Chan /meditation monasteries'. It seems that at a certain time the Tibetan monasteries in A mdo used the same or similar categories, i.e. (according to LDE'U JO SRAS:) *slob sbyoṅ gi gr'a, ltaṅs 'bul gyi graṅs* [*graṅs* recte *grwa*], *smra bcad sems 'chos gyi dra* [*dra* recte *grwa*]. For more information see HORLEMANN forthcoming. The Chinese Zen/ Chan schools of Buddhism were quite active in Tsoṅ kha under the Song Dynasty and often received imperial patronage. See MOCHIZUKI 3: 2.945, FOULK 1993: 165 and HORLEMANN 2004.

75 See TANG/ LIU 1986: 274.

76 See TANG/ LIU 1986: 303. The text of a temple inscription dating from 1084 was copied into local gazetteers. It describes not only the circumstances of the founding of the monastery by a Chinese Chan monk named Haiyuan but also gives a vivid description of the local non-Chinese monks. It is also published in ZHU 1988: 277–79.

It might be related to a monastery called Hongfusi 宏福寺 near Minxian.[77]

38. Daweide chanyuan 大威德禅院. This Zen/ Chan monastery was situated in or near Śiṅ kun/ Xizhou 熙州, modern Lintao 临洮,[78] and might be related to site 84.

39. Dongshan chanyuan 东山禅院. This Zen/ Chan monastery was situated in or near Śiṅ kun/ Xizhou, modern Lintao, and it was renamed Ciyun chanyuan 慈云禅院 in 1073.[79] It might be related to site 84.

40. Donghu chanyuan 东湖禅院. This Zen/ Chan monastery was situated in or near Śiṅ kun/ Xizhou, modern Lintao, and renamed Huiri chanyuan 慧日禅院 in 1073.[80] It might be related to site 84.

41. Khaṅ gsar ya ri phug/ Khaṅ pa gsar ma ri'i phug. This hermitage or cave was probably situated near An chuṅ monastery (see site no. 15). It is associated with the *mkhas pa mi gsum*.[81]

42. 'Bum gliṅ chos gra. This Dharma college might have been situated near the iron bridge of 'Bum gliṅ, 'Bum gliṅ *lcag zam*, which was probably near Khri kha/ Guide, or it was related to Byams pa 'bum gliṅ (see site no. 14).[82]

43. Ka'a chu g.yu tshe/ Ka chu g.yung drung rtse/ Ka chu'i g.yu rtse. This Dharma college might have been situated either in or near Kwa chu/ Guazhou, modern Anxi, or in or near Ga chu/ Hezhou, modern Linxia.[83] *gYuṅ druṅ*, 'svastika,' is frequently part of monastic names in the Shazhou/ Dunhuang area.[84]

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77 See IWASAKI 1993: 33. I have not been able to verify his source.

78 See TANG/ LIU 1986: 274.

79 See TANG/ LIU 1986: 282.

80 See TANG/ LIU 1986: 282.

81 See *Me tog phreṅ ba*, dating from the 13th century, which has been published in facsimile as well as in transcription with an annotated translation in UEBACH 1987. For the reference to Khaṅ gsar ya ri phug see *ibid*: 122, 123.

82 See *Me tog phreṅ ba* in UEBACH 1987: 106, 107, *lDe'u chos 'byuṅ* I 1987: 136, l. 12 and *lDe'u chos 'byuṅ* II 1987: 357, l. 11, 13. The lists of the Dharma colleges mentioned therein have also been published in UEBACH 1990: 396, 398.

83 See *lDe'u chos 'byuṅ* I 1987: 136, l. 3, *lDe'u chos 'byuṅ* II 1987: 357, l. 7 and *Me tog phreṅ ba* in UEBACH 1987: 106, 107.

84 See Dunhuang Document Stein Ch. 73 which has been published in transcription and translation in THOMAS 1951: 87–91.

Table 3: Pre-11th century Buddhist sites in A mdo and former Longyou according to post-10th century sources

44. Dunhuang Baimata 敦煌白马塔. This *mchod rten* is situated in former Śa cu/ Shazhou, modern Ton hoṅ/ Dunhuang, and is associated with Kumārajīva/ Jiumo Luoshi (344?–413).[85]

45. Xilaisi 西来寺. This monastery is located in former Kam cu/ Ganzhou, modern Kraṅ ye/ Zhangye, and is supposed to date back to the Sui Dynasty (581–618).[86] It might be related to site 26.

46. Beihaizita 北海子塔. This pagoda is the only remnant of the former Jinchuan 金川 Monastery which is supposed to date back to the Tang Dynasty. The monastery was formerly located north of Jinchang 金昌.[87]

47. Haizangsi 海藏寺/ Qinghua chansi 清化禅寺. This monastery is located 2 km northwest of former Leṅ cu/ Liangzhou, modern Wu'u we/ Wuwei, and according to tradition dates back to the 4th century. Furthermore, it is supposed to be one of the four great monasteries in Leṅ cu/ Liangzhou built or rebuilt by Sa skya Paṇḍita (1182–1251).[88] It might be related to site 19.

48. Luoshita 罗什塔. This site is situated in former Leṅ cu/ Liangzhou, modern Wu'u we/ Wuwei and, according to tradition, dates back to the 4th century. The pagoda is traditionally associated with Kumārajīva/ Jiumo Luoshi (344?–413) and was rebuilt during the Tang Dynasty. The site is also associated with Karma pakśi (1206–1283).[89]

49. (mChod rten thaṅ) bKra śis dar rgyas gliṅ/ Tiantangsi 天堂寺. This monastery is located west of Then kru'u/ Tianzhu 天祝 and is traditionally associated with a 9th century Bon monastery that was

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[85] See Li 1999: 225–26.

[86] See Li 1999: 550–52.

[87] See Li 1999: 215–16.

[88] See *Zhongguo mingsheng cidian* 1981: 1061, *A mdo chos 'byuṅ* 1987: 143 and Li 1999: 210, 496–98. The four great monasteries—including Haizangsi—are Baitasi/ Huanhuasi (see site no. 72), Lianhuasi (see site no. 71) and Jintasi 金塔寺. Jintasi seems to have vanished although a place named Jinta south of Wuwei remains.

[89] See *Zhongguo mingsheng cidian* 1981: 1060, Li 1999: 207–208 and *A mdo chos 'byuṅ* 1987: 147.

later converted into a Buddhist site. It is also associated with the (legendary?) pre-11th century Pra sgom chos gyi rdo rje.[90]

50. mTsho sñiṅ mahādeva/ Haixinshan 海心山. This site is situated on an island of Lake Kokonor/ mTsho sṅon/ Qinghaihu 青海湖 and is traditionally associated with a Han Dynasty meditation site, with Padmasambhava and with the (legendary?) pre-11th century Pra sgom chos gyi rdo rje and his 13 meditation sites/ camps, *Pra sde/ sti sgar ba*.[91]

51. Grwa tshaṅ dgon/ Zhazangsi 扎藏寺. This monastery is located northwest of sToṅ ’khor/ Huangyuan 湟源 and is traditionally associated with a meditation cave dating back to the Eastern Han Dynasty (25–220) as well as with a ‘Tang princess temple/ *Tang gongzhu fotang* 唐公主佛堂’, i.e. the temple in which Princess Wencheng 文成/ Mun śeṅ *koṅ jo* was allegedly received by the A źa ruler on her way to Lhasa.[92]

52. (Xining) Dafosi (西宁)大佛寺. This monastery is located in Zi liṅ/ Xining and is traditionally associated with a *mchod rten* containing relics of the *mkhas pa mi gsum*. It was rebuilt or renovated in the late 14th century and the original site certainly pre-dates the Ming Dynasty (1368–1644).[93] It might be related to site no. 17 or 30.

53. Zhuangyansi 庄严寺. This monastery, which is situated in Lanzhou and also known as Sanjuesi 三绝寺, is supposed to date back to the early 7th century according to written sources.[94]

54. Puzhaosi 普照寺. This monastery, which is situated in Lanzhou and also known as Dafosi 大佛寺, is supposed to date back to the early 7th century according to written sources.[95]

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[90] See *Mapping the Tibetan World* 2000: 188 and *A mdo chos ’byuṅ* 1987: 123.

[91] See GRUSCHKE 2001[a]: 93 and *A mdo chos ’byuṅ* 1987: 17, 83. For different legends concerning mTsho sñiṅ mahādeva see also BUFFETRILLE 1996: 78–79.

[92] See PU 2001: 345 and PENG 1998: 62, 63. According to PENG the temple is supposed to have already existed when the Tang princess Wencheng travelled to Lha sa. An early 20th century gazetteer for sToṅ ’khor/ Huangyuan also mentions a ruined Buddhist site that is associated with a ‘Tang princess temple’; see *Danka’er tingzhi* in *Qinghai difang jiu zhi wu zhong* 1989: 313.

[93] See the biography of dGoṅs pa Rab gsal in WATSON 1978: 273, *A mdo chos ’byuṅ* 1987: 169 and PENG 1998: 4.

[94] See LI 1999: 255–56.

[95] See LI 1999: 257–59.

55. Mutasi 木塔寺. According to written sources this monastery, which is situated in Lanzhou and also known as Jiafusi 嘉福寺 and Baotasi 宝塔寺, is supposed to have been founded in the early 7th century by a devout citizen of former Gaochang/ Turfan.[96]

56. Hualinsi 华林寺. According to written sources this monastery, which is situated near Lanzhou, was originally founded as Gufengsi 古峰寺 during the Tang Dynasty.[97]

57. dMar gtsaṅ brag/ Baimasi 白马寺. This cave temple and monastery is located north of Tsoṅ kha mkhar/ Ping'an and is another Buddhist site traditionally associated with dGoṅs pa Rab gsal (832–915) and the *mkhas pa mi gsum*.[98] This site might also be related to Tsoṅ ka gser kaṅ g.yu khaṅ (see site no. 17).

58. Śwa rdzoṅ ri krod/ Xiazongsi 夏宗寺. This monastery is located southwest of Tsoṅ kha mkhar/ Ping'an and is traditionally associated with Faxian's (ca. 337–422) pilgrimage to India and with Tsoṅ kha pa. It is furthermore one of the so-called '*mdo smad kyi rdzoṅ chen bźi*/ the four cliffs of A mdo', which are also associated with the *mkhas pa mi gsum* (see sites 15, 59 and 60).[99]

59. Padmo chos rdzoṅ/ Phu la yaṅ rdzoṅ/ Yangzongsi 羊/ 杨宗寺. This is another one of the so-called '*mdo smad kyi rdzoṅ chen bźi*/ the four cliffs of A mdo.' It is located in the southeastern corner of Gro tshaṅ/ Ledu 乐都 County and is traditionally associated with the *mkhas pa mi gsum* (see sites 15, 58 and 60).[100]

60. Brag dkar sprel rdzoṅ/ Saizongsi 赛宗寺. This monastery is located south of rTsi gor thaṅ/ Xinghai 星海 and is a sacred Buddhist site traditionally associated with Padmasambhava. It is furthermore one of the so-called '*mdo smad kyi rdzoṅ chen bźi*/ the four cliffs of A mdo', which are also associated with the *mkhas pa mi gsum* (see sites 15, 58 and 59).[101]

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[96] See LI 1999: 261–62.

[97] See LI 1999: 287–88.

[98] See, for instance, the biography of dGoṅs pa Rab gsal in WATSON 1978: 273 and *A mdo chos 'byuṅ* 1987: 54.

[99] See GRUSCHKE 2001[a]: 46, PU 1990: 69-71, *A mdo chos 'byuṅ* 1987: 178 and *Zhangye shihua* 1992: 81. However, the latter source only offers an approximate itinerary of Faxian and does not specifically mention this site.

[100] See *A mdo chos 'byuṅ* 1987: 178 and PENG 1998: 27–29.

[101] See *A mdo chos 'byuṅ* 1987: 17, 178, 217 and PENG 1998: 219–22.

61. Luohantangsi 罗汉堂寺. This site is situated northwest of Khri kha/ Guide and, according to oral tradition, was established as a branch monastery of bSam yas during the reign of Khri Sroṅ lde btsan (755–797).[102]

62. Mi ñag grwa tshaṅ/ Mienasi 乜那寺/ Mienata 乜纳塔. This site is situated in Khri kha/ Guide. The *mchod rten* is traditionally associated with *btsan po* Ral pa can (815?–838) whereas the monastery is supposed to have been established either around 870 at the time of dGoṅs pa Rab gsal or later on the initiative of Sa skya Paṇḍita's nephew 'Phags pa (1235–1280).[103]

63. Lo rdo rje brag/ rMa lho rdo rje brag. This site is situated northwest of gCan tsha/ Jianza and not far from An chuṅ gnam rdzoṅ (see site no. 15). It is associated with the *mkhas pa mi gsum*.[104]

64. Bao'ensi 报恩寺/ Dongmendasi 东门大寺. According to tradition this site, which is located in former Ga cu/ Hezhou, modern Linxia, was founded during the Tang Dynasty as a Chinese Buddhist temple and later converted into a Tibetan monastery.[105] It might be related to site 18, 32, 35, 36 or 43.

65. Baojuesi 宝觉寺/ Wanshousi 万寿寺/ Beisi 北寺. According to tradition this site, which is located in the northeastern outskirts of former Ga cu/ Hezhou, modern Linxia, was already founded during the Northern Wei Dynasty (424–535) and repeatedly renovated and rebuilt from the Tang up to the Ming Dynasty. During the Song Dynasty a 13-storey pagoda was added to the site.[106] It might be related to site 18, 32, 35, 36 or 43.

66. Longquansi 龙泉寺/ Tuogangsi 驼岗寺/ Xuefengsi 雪峰寺. According to tradition this monastery, which is located south of former Ga cu/ Hezhou, modern Linxia, was already founded during the early Tang Dynasty. It was repeatedly rebuilt and renovated.[107] It might be related to site 18, 32, 35, 36 or 43.

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[102] See PENG 1998: 210.

[103] See *A mdo chos 'byuṅ* 1987: 17, PENG 1998: 363, GRUSCHKE 2001[a]: 68.

[104] See *Chos 'byuṅ me tog sñiṅ po* which dates from the 12th century and which has been published in facsimile in MEISEZAHL 1985; see *ibid*: 319, 3, 1. See also the biography of dGoṅs pa Rab gsal in WATSON 1978: 268.

[105] See LI 1999: 474–75 and *Linxia shizhi* 1995: 805.

[106] See LI 1999: 480–82 and *Linxia shizhi* 1995: 804–805.

[107] See LI 1999: 482–83 and *Linxia shizhi* 1995: 805.

67. Xifengwosi 西蜂窝寺/ Gufosi 古佛寺/ Dashengshoubaojisi 大圣寿宝积寺/ Zhengjuesi 正觉寺. This monastery is located ca. 50 km southeast of former Ga cu/ Hezhou, modern Linxia. According to tradition it was already founded during the Eastern Han Dynasty (25–220) by a *fan seng* 番僧, 'foreign' monk. It was repeatedly rebuilt and renovated.[108]

68. Daṅ po'i gźi ma dgon thub bstan chos 'khor gliṅ/ Dangge yima si 当格乙麻寺. This monastery is located northwest of Reb goṅ/ Tongren and is traditionally regarded as one of the oldest Buddhist sites of the area. It is further associated with a disciple of the *mkhas pa mi gsum*.[109]

69. Seṅ ge gśoṅ ma mgo dgon pa/ Wutun xiazhuang si 吾屯下庄寺/ Magong niangwa si 马公娘哇寺. This monastery is located east of Reb goṅ/ Tongren and is traditionally associated with *btsan po* Ral pa can.[110]

Table 4: 11th to 13th century Buddhist sites in A mdo and former Longyou according to post-13th century sources

70. Yuantongsi 圆通寺. This site is located circa 40 km south of former Kam cu/ Ganzhou, modern Kraṅ ye/ Zhangye, and according to later Chinese sources it dates back at least to the early 12th century when its renovation was recorded. Today, only the *mchod rten*, Yuantongta 圆通塔, remains.[111]

71. Lianhuasi 莲花寺/ 'Lotus Monastery'. This monastery was located west of former Leṅ cu/ Liangzhou, modern Wu'u we/ Wuwei, and according to tradition was one of the four great monasteries in Leṅ cu/ Liangzhou built or rebuilt by Sa skya Paṇḍita (1182–1251) (see also sites 47, 72).[112]

72. Baitasi 白塔寺, 'White Stūpa Monastery'/ Baitasi 百塔寺, 'One Hundred Stūpa Monastery'. This site is located circa 20 km east of former Leṅ cu/ Liangzhou, modern Wu'u we/ Wuwei. According

108 See LI 1999: 491–94.
109 See PU 1996: 438–39.
110 See PENG 1998: 160.
111 See LI 1999: 222–23.
112 See LI 1999: 210–11.

to tradition its main reliquary, which is situated on the grounds of the former Huanhua Monastery 幻化寺, contains the ashes of Sa skya Paṇḍita (1182–1251). The Huanhua monastery was one of the four great monasteries in Leṅ cu/ Liangzhou associated with Sa skya Paṇḍita (see also sites 47 and 71).[113]

73. Ta' ban dgon chos 'khor dar rgyas gliṅ/ Jilesi 极乐寺. This monastery is located northwest of dGon luṅ/ Huzhu 互助. Its foundation is associated with Sa skya Paṇḍita and its conversion into a bKa' brgyud pa monastery with the 4th Karma pa Rol pa'i rdo rje (1340–1383).[114]

74. dGon luṅ byams pa gliṅ/ rGo luṅ/ Guolongsi 郭隆寺/ Youningsi 佑宁寺. This monastery is located south of dGon luṅ/ Huzhu and was originally a Sa skya pa monastery during the Mongol Yuan Dynasty (1260–1368). Nearby sites are associated with the Pra clan and with Karma pakśi.[115]

75. (Lanzhou) Baitasi (兰州)白塔寺. This monastery and its architecturally mixed Tibetan *mchod rten*/ Chinese pagoda was established during the Mongol Yuan Dynasty around 1260 to honour a Tibetan Sa kya pa monk.[116]

76. Gro tshaṅ rdo rje 'chaṅ/ Go tam sde/ Qutansi 瞿昙寺/ Nianbaisi 碾伯寺. This monastery is located south of Gro tshaṅ/ Ledu. It seems that a monastery already existed at this site before it was established as a Karma bKa' brgyud pa monastery in the 14th century.[117]

77. Chin kya zi/ Qinjiasi 秦家寺/ Jigusi 祭骨寺. This monastery is located in the southwestern corner of bKa' ma log/ Minhe 民和 County and is supposed to have been founded during the Song Dynasty (960–1126).[118]

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[113] See LI 1999: 210, 212–13. Remnants of the old main reliquary are still extant but apparently new *mchod rten* have been erected nearby. There is a museum but no monastery.

[114] See LI 1999: 538–40.

[115] See GRUSCHKE 2001[a]: 32 and *A mdo chos 'byuṅ* 1987: 75, 83. For other sites associated with the Pra clan see sites no. 49 and 50.

[116] See LI 1999: 246–49.

[117] See GRUSCHKE 2001[a]: 28. However, SPERLING 2001: 77 supposes that the monastery did not start functioning before 1392.

[118] See PU 1996: 41.

78. Jo jo lha khaṅ/ Zhenzhusi 珍珠寺. This monastery is located near Khri kha/ Guide and is supposed to have been founded around 1247 thanks to a donation made by Sa kya Paṇḍita after his visit to Mi ñag grwa tshaṅ/ Mienasi (see site no. 62).[119]

79. Ko'u ba bśad sgrub dar rgyas gliṅ/ Guwasi 古哇寺. This monastery is located west of gCan tsha/ Jianza and was a Bon monastery before it was converted into a Sa skya pa monastery in 1265.[120]

80. Bya khyuṅ bśad sgrub gliṅ/ Xiaqiongsi 夏琼寺. This monastery is located northwest of Ba yan mkhar/ Hualong 化隆 and its foundation is traditionally associated with either Karma pakśi or Tsoṅ kha pa's teacher Don grub rin chen (14th century). The latter is supposed to have expelled the Bon po from this site.[121]

81. Zhoṅ shan ri krod/ Xiongxiansi 雄先寺. This site is situated circa 50 km northwest of Ba yan mkhar/ Hualong and is traditionally associated with Sa skya Paṇḍita (1182–1251) and 'Phags pa (1235–1280).[122]

82. sGo ris grwa tshaṅ/ Guleisi 古雷寺. This monastery is located southeast of rDo sbis/ Xunhua and was originally established as a Sa skya pa monastery during the Mongol Yuan Dynasty. Later it was converted into a dGe lugs pa monastery.[123]

83. Bis mdo'i dgon chen/ Wendusi 文都寺. This monastery is located southwest of rDo sbis/ Xunhua, in the hometown of the 10th Paṇ chen bla ma. It was established as a Sa skya pa monastery during the Mongol Yuan Dynasty and later converted into a dGe lugs pa monastery.[124]

84. Bo'a tha' zi/ Baotasi 宝塔寺. According to tradition this monastery which is located northeast of former Śiṅ kun/ Xizhou 西州, modern Lintao 临洮, was founded during the Song Dynasty. It is also associated with Sa skya Paṇḍita's nephew 'Phags pa (1235–

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119 See PU 1996: 168–69.

120 See GRUSCHKE 2001[a]: 65 and PENG 1998: 190.

121 See *A mdo chos 'byuṅ* 1987: 187, 188, GYURME DORJE 1996: 588 and PENG 1998: 93.

122 See PU 1996: 94–95.

123 See GRUSCHKE 2001[a]: 62 and PENG 1998: 113.

124 See GRUSCHKE 2001[a]: 63 and PENG 1998: 115. The *A mdo chos 'byuṅ* 1987: 215 stresses the antiquity and former importance of this monastery.

1280) who is supposed to have stayed in Lintao from 1271 to 1274.[125] It might be related to site 38, 39 or 40.

85. Roṅ bo dgon chen/ Longwusi 隆务寺. This monastery is located in Reb goṅ/ Tongren. It was originally established as a Sa skya pa monastery at the end of the 13th/ beginning of the 14th century and later converted into a dGe lugs pa monastery.[126]

86. Tsha dor dgon bkra śis byams pa rnam gliṅ/ Chadao'ersi 岔道尔寺/ Yanjiasi 阎家寺. According to tradition this monastery which is situated near former Te'u chu/ Taozhou, modern Lintan, was founded during the 13th century.[127]

87. Yer ba dgon bsam sgrub gliṅ/ Houjiasi 侯家寺/ Yuanchengsi 圆城寺. This monastery is located between former Te'u chu/ Taozhou, modern Lintan, and Co ne dgon chen (see site no. 88). According to one tradition it was founded in 1146, whereas another tradition associates it with Khubilai Khan.[128]

88. Co ne dgon chen bźad sgrub gliṅ/ Zhuoni Chandingsi 卓尼禅定寺. This monastery is located in Co ne/ Zhuoni and was a rÑing ma pa monastery before it was converted into a Sa skya pa monastery in the late 13th century.[129]

89. dPal śes sdeṅ kha dgon pa/ Baxidianduosi 跋喜电朵寺. This monastery is located near sDeṅ kha in The bo/ Diebu 迭部 and was established as a Sa skya pa monastery during the 13th century. Later it was converted into a dGe lugs pa monastery.[130] It might be related to the Dharma college sTeṅ khaṅ chen mo/ sToṅ ka chen po/ Pyi tig priṅ ka.[131]

90. Da'nasi 答那寺/ Da'nansi 达南寺/ Ta'nansi 踏南寺. This monastery is mentioned in connection with the Jishi Prefecture 积石州 of the Jurchen Jin Dynasty (1115–1234) which covered part of modern rDo sbis/ Xunhua County. However, instead of having

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[125] See LI 1999: 333–34, CHEN 2005: 204–209 and *A mdo chos 'byuṅ* 1987: 688.

[126] See GRUSCHKE 2001[a]: 51 and PENG 1998: 152.

[127] See LI 1999: 456–57 and PU 1990: 543–44.

[128] See GRUSCHKE 2001[b]: 45 and PU 1990: 542–43. The *A mdo chos 'byuṅ* 1987: 215 stresses the antiquity and former importance of this monastery.

[129] See GRUSCHKE 2001[b]: 50, LI 1999: 463–68, PU 1990: 530–35 and MA 2007a: 114–65.

[130] See GRUSCHKE 2001[b]: 50 and PU 1996: 546–47.

[131] See *lDe'u chos 'byuṅ* I 1987: 136, l. 9, *lDe'u chos 'byuṅ* II 1987: 357, l. 3, *Me tog phreṅ ba* in UEBACH 1987: 106, 107 and HORLEMANN forthcoming.

been located in former Jishi itself, it seems that Jishi only served as a point of reference and that the monastery was actually situated west or northwest of the prefecture.[132] Song Dynasty sources mention a walled settlement of Da'nan 达南/ Ta'nan 塔南, i.e. Da'nancheng 达南城/ Ta'nancheng 塔南城 which was renamed Datongcheng 大通城 in 1103.[133] The monastery might thus have been located in modern gSer khog/ Datong 大通 County. The *A mdo chos 'byuṅ* contains two short references to a monastery called sTag rna dgon/ sTag sna dgon which seems to have been situated in the vicinity of gSer khog/ Datong or dGon luṅ/ Huzhu on the upper 'Ju lag/ Haomen 浩门 River. This monastery is translated as Da'nasi 达纳寺 in the Chinese translation of the *A mdo chos 'byuṅ*.[134]

SUMMARY

I hope to have been able to exemplify the rich Buddhist heritage of 8th to 13th century A mdo and former Longyou which—despite the area's probable importance for Sino-Tibetan Buddhist relations—has received little scholarly attention so far. However, it has to be stressed once again that the tables remain preliminary and that the reciprocal identifications of Buddhist sites which I have sometimes suggested, are—so far—mostly speculative. I am convinced that future and more in-depth studies of individual Buddhist sites will provide many new insights and that archaeology and further fieldwork will substantially supplement our present knowledge.[135]

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[132] See *Jin shi* by TUOTUO 2: 367, 6: 1,790, 7: 2,485. While the seat of the Jishi Prefecture of the Song Dynasty was located west of modern rDo sbis/ Xunhua in Khri kha/ Guide and thus also covered part of the Khri kha/ Guide area, the Jishi Prefecture of the Jin Dynasty belonged to the Lintao Circuit 临洮路.

[133] See *Song huiyao jigao* by XU SONG, *fan yi* 番夷 6, 11b: 8 and *bing* 兵 9.

[134] See *A mdo chos 'byuṅ* 1987: 41, 76 and *Anduo zhengjiao shi* 1989: 48, 80. Another 11th/ 12th century monastery by the name of rTa rna seṅ ge'i gnam rdzoṅ/ Da'nasi 达那寺 is located in modern Naṅ chen/ Nangqian County but it has no obvious connection to site no. 90; see PU 1996: 391–93.

[135] I would like to express my thanks to Sarah Fraser and Andreas Gruschke for generously sharing several photos for this publication.

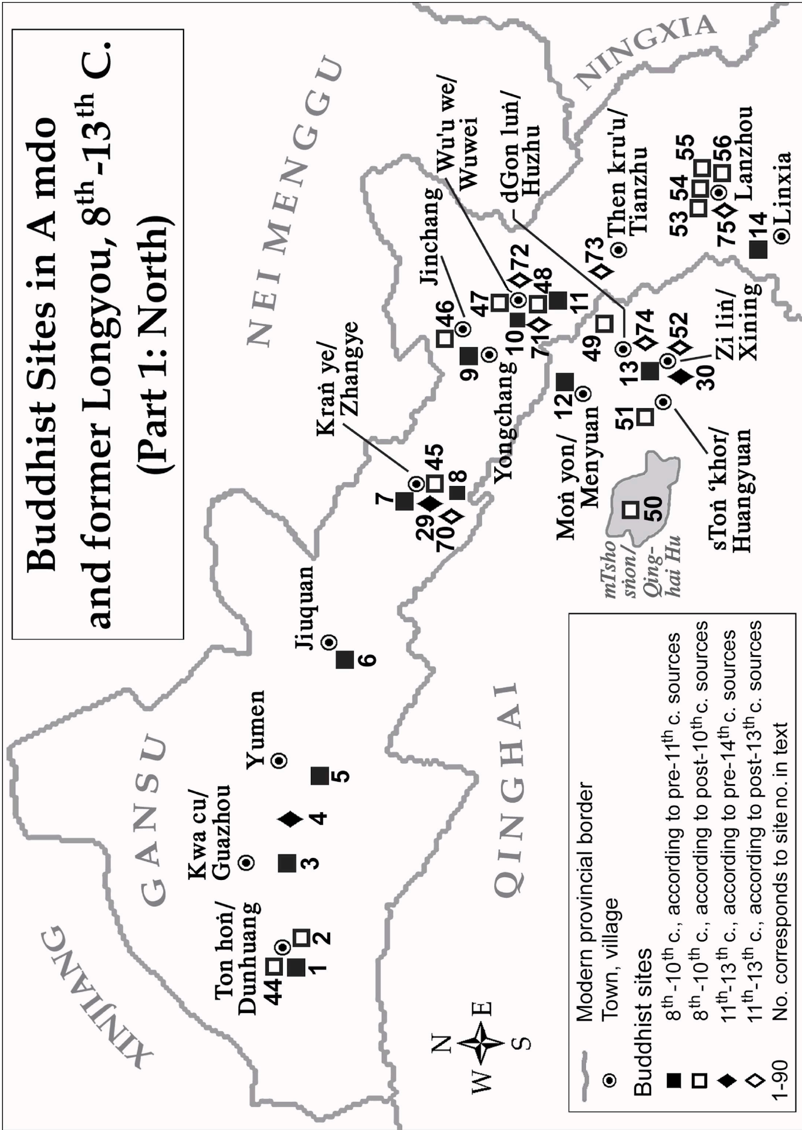


Fig. 1: Buddhist Sites in A mdo and former Longyou, 8th–13th C.
Part 1: North (draft: B. Horlemann, map maker: A. Gruschke)

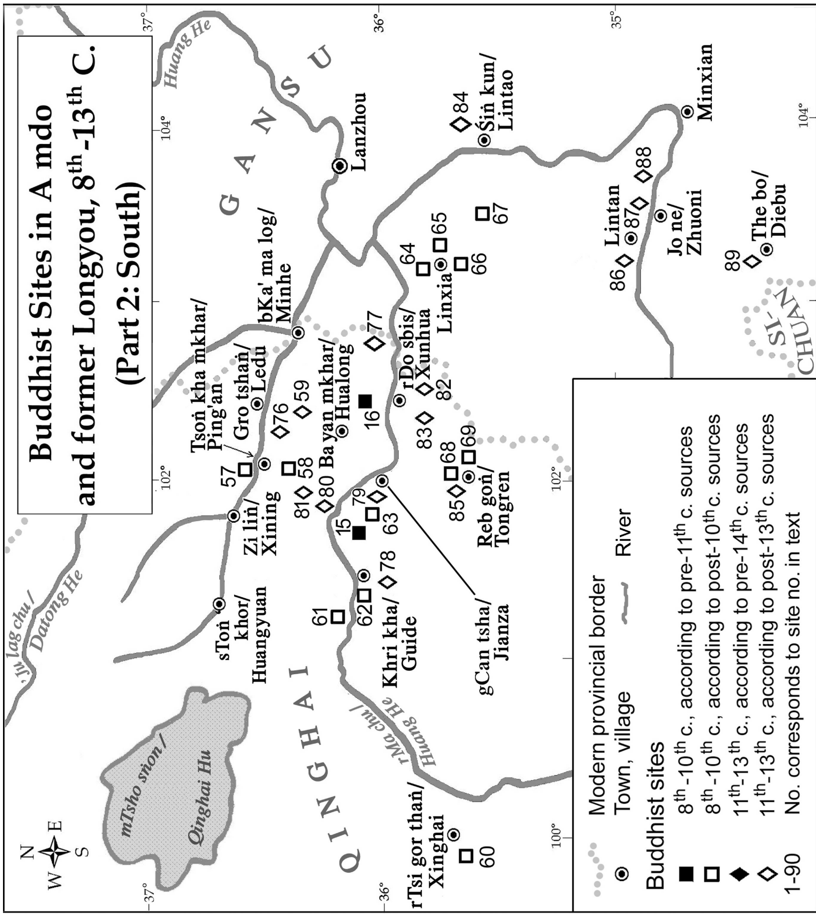


Fig. 2: Buddhist Sites in A mdo and former Longyou, 8^{th}–13^{th} C.
Part 2: South (draft: B. Horlemann, map maker: A. Gruschke)

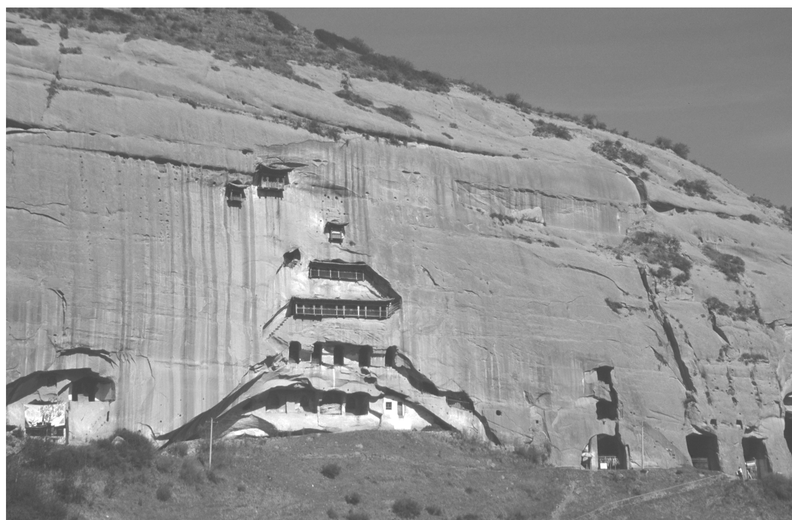


Fig. 3: rTa rjes dgon/ Matisi (site 8)
(photo B. Horlemann)

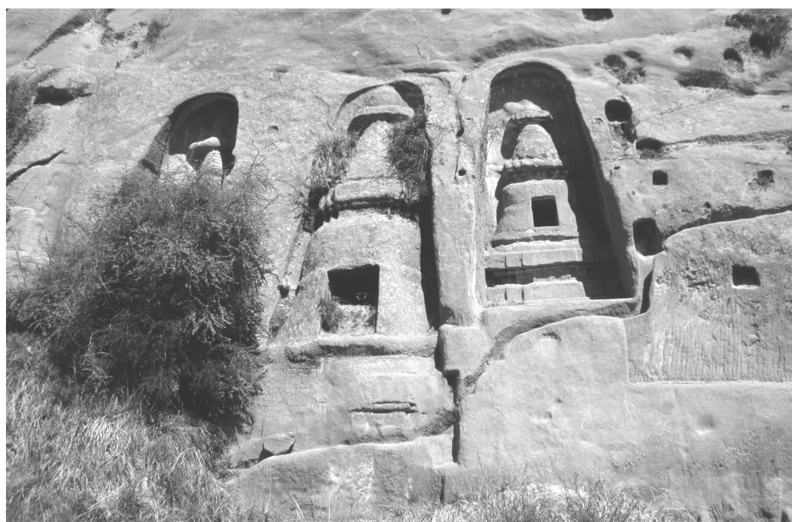


Fig. 4: rTa rjes dgon/ Matisi (site 8)
(photo B. Horlemann)



Fig. 5: Haizangsi (site 47)
(photo B. Horlemann)



Fig. 6: Wanshousi muta (site 7)
(photo Archivum Generale SVD)



Fig. 7: Luoshita (site 48)
(photo B. Horlemann)



Fig. 8: Mi ñag grwa tshaṅ/ Mienasi (site 62)
(photo S. Fraser)



Fig. 9: Baitasi (site 72)
(photo B. Horlemann)



Fig. 10: Baitasi (site 72)
(photo B. Horlemann)

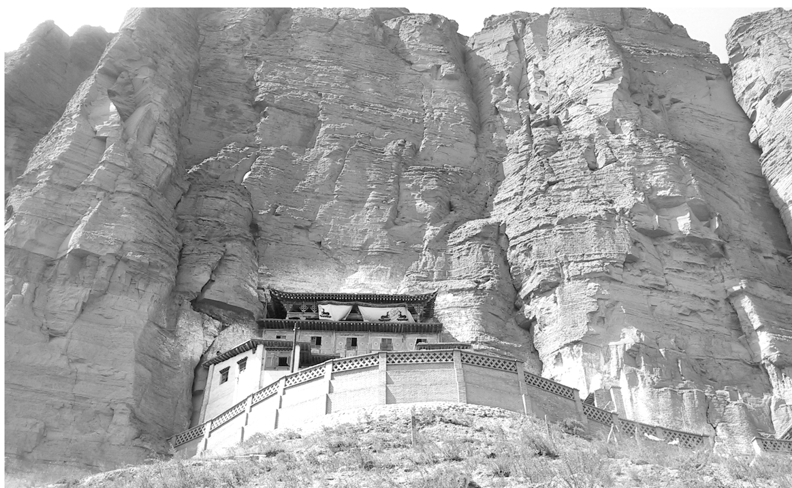


Fig. 11: dMar gtsaṅ brag/ Baimasi (site 57)
(photo S. Fraser)



Fig. 12: dGon luṅ byams pa gliṅ/ Youningsi (site 74)
(photo S. Fraser)

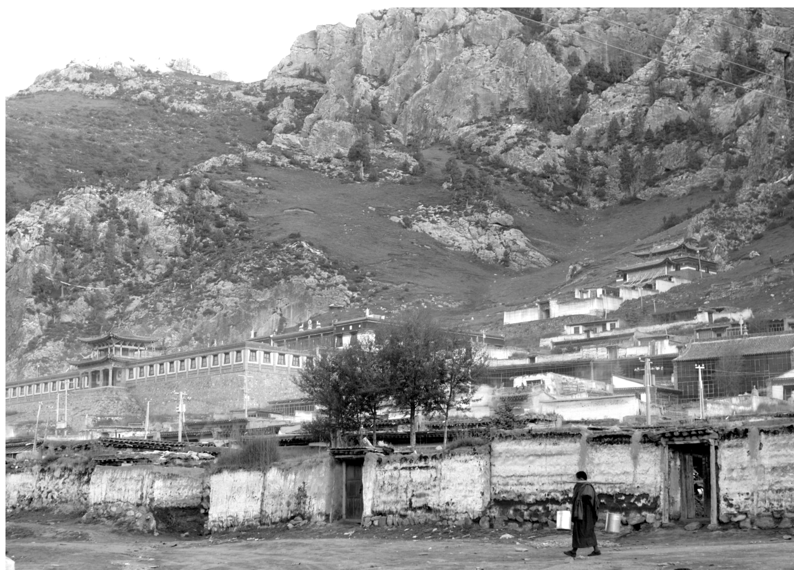


Fig. 13: Brag dkar sprel rdzoṅ/ Saizongsi (site 60)
(photo S. Fraser)

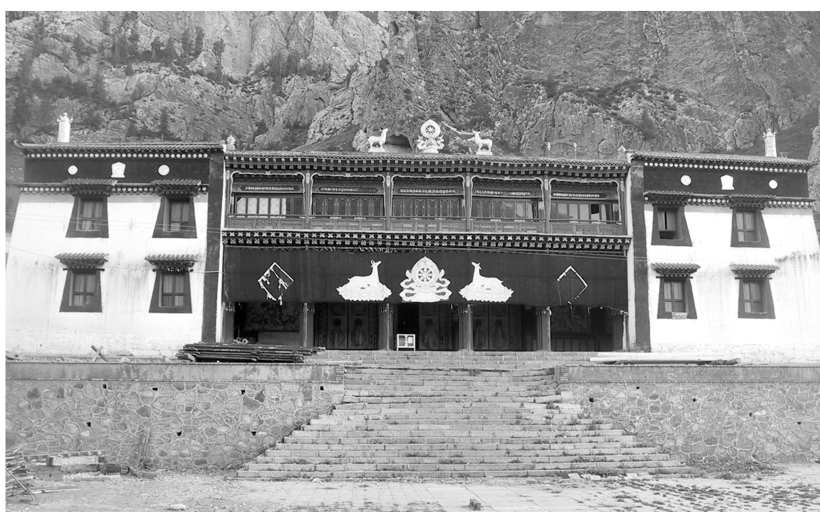


Fig. 14: Brag dkar sprel rdzoṅ/ Saizongsi (site 60)
(photo S. Fraser)

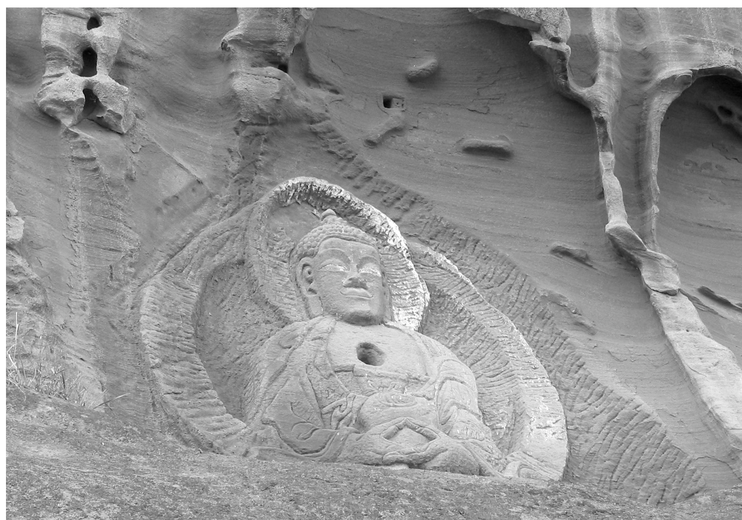


Fig. 15: Ganglongsi (site 12)
(photo A. Gruschke)

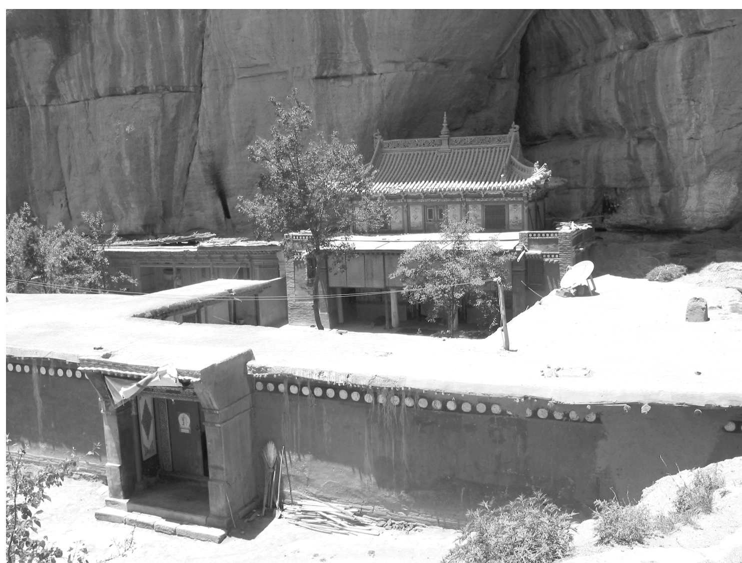


Fig. 16: Dan tig śan/ Dandousi (site 16)
(photo: A. Gruschke)

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AT THE BEHEST OF THE MOUNTAIN: GODS, CLANS AND POLITICAL TOPOGRAPHY IN POST-IMPERIAL TIBET*

BRANDON DOTSON (MUNICH)

The narrative of regional principalities marks the ritual terminus of the Tibetan Empire (c. 600–c. 850). Set in the period after the disintegration of centralised authority and after the Revolt (*kheng-log*),[1] the narrative contains elements that bear a striking resemblance to the body of legend surrounding the arrival of the first Tibetan sovereign, gNya'-khri bTsan-po, in the prehistoric past. But while the latter story relates the centralisation of Tibet and the emergence of order out of chaos, the narrative of the regional principalities recounts the destruction of this centralised order. In this narrative Yar-lha Sham-po and the other mountain deities of Tibet negotiate with a powerful demonic figure, dPal-gyi Yon-tan, in order to avert total annihilation. Through this negotiation the mountain gods broker a resolution to the social and political upheaval in post-imperial Tibet via the creation of a group of decentralised polities known as the regional principalities (*rje-dpon-tshan*).

The narrative is approached here via four main sources. The most complete version is found in the *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* (1545–1564) (hereafter abbreviated *KhG*) by dPa'-bo gTsug-lag phreng-ba, a historian noted for his faithful rendering of source texts. It is important in this connection that he cites as his source the famously

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[1] The Revolt, according to VITALI (1996: 548), erupted in Central Tibet in 904 and in gTsang the following year, lasting until approximately 910. See also Hazod's excellent study of this period in GYALBO *et al.* 2000: 177–97, and PETECH 1994.

non-extant *Lo rgyus chen mo* of Khu-ston brTson-'grus g.yung-drung (1011–1075). The narrative of the regional principalities is also preserved in two mid-thirteenth-century texts, namely the *Chos 'byung chen po bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan* of lDe'u Jo-sras (hereafter, *Jo sras*) and the *rGya bod kyi chos 'byung rgyas pa* of mKhas-pa lDe'u (hereafter, *lDe'u*).[2] The above three versions are nearly identical, but the most detailed and complete version is found in *KhG*. A fourth version is found in the Collected Works (*gSung 'bum*) of Shud-phu Nam-mkha' rgyal-mtshan (1326–1401) (hereafter, *ShB*), which appears to contain a separate transmission of the narrative. This version is employed mainly to elucidate the more complete narrative found in the other three sources. In this paper a translation of the dominant narrative, based on dPa'-bo gTsug-lag's citation of the *Lo rgyus chen mo*, is offered along with an analysis of its contents. The analysis focuses mainly on the territorial catalogue of the regional principalities and its relation to earlier catalogues concerning the political geography of Tibet, particularly as it relates to clan territory.[3]

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[2] For a discussion of the authorship and dating of these two texts see VAN DER KUIJP 1992 and KARMAY 1998 [1994]: 291–92.

[3] The term 'clan' is employed here in the same manner as Róna-Tas used it in equating the term *phu-nu* with clan, where he qualified it thus: "1) it designates a comparatively broad group of blood-relations; 2) the group is differentiated from the close family and male lineage, 3) the members of the *phu-nu,* the *phu-nu-po*-s, have a common name, handed down by the father's side. 4) Should the male line of the family become extinct, the *phu-nu-po*-s inherit the family property, ... 5) The *phu-nu-po*-s are, to a certain extent, responsible for one another... 6) a certain solidarity prevailed among the *phu-nu-po*-s..." (RÓNA-TAS 1955: 255–56). This does not entirely accord with Lévi-Strauss' definition of clan as "...unilineal groupings which, in that they are exogamous, permit a purely negative definition ... of the modalities of exchange" (LÉVI-STRAUSS 1968: 73). As too little is known, however, about the patterns of marriage and exchange among 'clans' in early Tibet at the present, 'clan' seems just as satisfactory as any other term to denote *phu-nu* such as 'Bro, dBa's, Myang, sNa-nam and so forth.

THE NARRATIVE OF REGIONAL PRINCIPALITIES BASED ON THE *LO RGYUS CHEN MO*

At the centre of the narrative of regional principalities is Bran-ka dPal-gyi Yon-tan. Once a famous monk-minister under Khri lDe-srong-btsan (reigned c. 800–815) and Khri gTsug-lde-brtsan Ral-pa-can (815–841), he was supposedly slandered by the political minister sBa rGyal-to-re sTag-snang and then brutally murdered in connection with the coup that ousted Ral-pa-can.[4] Like so many other powerful Tibetan figures who fall victim to treachery, Yon-tan did not pass beyond the world but lingered on as a malignant spirit in order to avenge his murder.[5]

At the end of his narration of the various Revolts (*kheng-log*) and their ringleaders (*lag-dpon*), dPa'-bo gTsug-lag writes, "it is said also that all of that was the doing of the harmful spirit (Tib: *gnod-sbyin*; Skt: *yakṣa*) Bran-ka dPal-yon".[6] This effectively signals an alternative narrative, and dPa'-bo gTsug-lag then shifts into nine-syllable verse lifted, apparently verbatim, from the *Lo rgyus chen mo*. This same verse is also found, albeit with some variations, in both *lDe'u* and *Jo sras*, though *Jo sras* fails to cite its source. Some verses are very obscure and all three versions must be employed to make sense of the narrative. It is evident from even a cursory comparison of the three versions that *KhG* records the verse more accurately than *Jo sras* and *lDe'u*, which each tend to deviate from nine-syllable verse, condense two verses into one, and provide their own corrections or glosses on the original spellings. The version in *ShB* is even shorter, eschews any metre whatsoever, and may represent a

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[4] The entire sequence of events with regard to the death of Ral-pa-can and the period of 'U'i-dum-brtan's rule have been radically reconceived by YAMAGUCHI (1996), who argues that Ral-pa-can probably died of natural causes.

[5] On Yon-tan's transformation, see RICHARDSON 1998: 147. Concerning the same deity, Nebesky-Wojkowitz notes that Chos-blon Bran-kha-dPal serves as the head of the five worldly protectors (*'jig-rten-pa'i srung-ma*) that protect dGa'-ldan Chos-'khor-gling Monastery in 'Phan-yul (NEBESKY-WOJKOWITZ 1998 [1956]: 232–33). For similar instances of this type of apotheosis, see NEBESKY-WOJKOWITZ 1998 [1956]: 131, 144, 155, 164, 174, 231–43; KARMAY 1998 [1991]: 363–64; POMMARET 1998: 95–96; and HAZOD 1998: 71–72.

[6] *de thams cad kyang gnod sbyin bran ka dpal yon gyis byas skad de/* (*KhG*: 431–32/Fol. 140a).

separate transmission of the narrative. For that reason, and by virtue of his reputation for faithfully recording his sources nearly verbatim, dPa'-bo gTsug-lag's version will be followed in the translation below, and *Jo sras* and *lDe'u* will be employed to elucidate the text.[7]

> *kheng log byed pa'i phywa mkhan mes po ni / bran ka dpal gyi yon tan kho yis byas / / mi bas sas kyang rje ru ma theg nas / /spyir na lha 'dre pha tshan kun gyis byas / /mna' tho 'ug pa thang du 'dun ma tshogs / / de tshe bran ka dpal gyi yon tan kho / /lcags kyi spyang ki sngon po zhon nas ni / / lcags kyi ber kas sa la brdung bzhin du / / lha 'dre kun la zhu ba 'di skad gsol / / rje dpon gcig yang ma lus bsad par zhu / / yang na so kha brgyad du gtor bar zhus / / de tshe yar lha sham po la sogs pas / / dpal gyi yon tan kho la zhu ba phul / / lha re'i rtsa ru rje dpon tshan re zhus / / lha 'dre pha tshan 'dun ma de la 'cham / / gtsang lha bu dar lha yis zhu ba byas / / grom pa lha rtse btsan pa'i mkhar la brten [bsten] / / 'bro dang cog ro gnyis kyis ma phyar byas / / gtsang stod yul du rje dpon tshan gcig chags / kha rag khyung btsun lha yis zhu ba byas / / 'brang mkhar bye btsan btsan pa'i mkhar la brten [bsten] / / byang dang snang gis ma phyar byas nas ni / / ru mtshams gzhu snyer rje dpon tshan gcig chags / / thang lha ya bzhur lha yis zhu ba byas / / zwa dang dom pa btsan pa'i mkhar la brten [bsten] / / sgro dang rma yis ma phyar byas nas ni / / 'phan yul za gad rje dpon tshan gcig chags / / yar lha sham po lha yis zhu ba byas / / sna mo yar rtse mar rtse gnyis la bsten / / mchims gnyags gnyis kyis ma phyar byas nas su / / yar lungs stod du rje dpon tshan gcig chags / / gtam lha dpun dgu lha yis zhu ba byas / / bya tshang gung snang btsan pa'i mkhar la brten [bsten] / / snyi ba shud pus ma phyar byas nas ni / / gtam shul lho brag rje dpon tshan gcig chags / / 'chos lha dkon pa lha yis zhu ba byas / / phu gud co mkhar btsan pa'i mkhar la brten [bsten] / khu gnyags gnyis kyis ma phyar byas nas su / / 'chos su rje dpon tshan gcig chags so skad / / ces sogs nas / de ltar rje dpon rje tshan rnam pa dgu / chos 'khor rkyen du rje lhu gcig dang bcu / / lha yis zhu ba byas nas chags pa yin / / de nas bran ka dpal gyi yon tan gyis / / snyi ba bsam por sprul nas rje 'bangs bsdums / / zhes lo rgyus chen mo las snang ngo /* (*KhG*: 432–33/ Fols. 140a, b).

[7] Though the Beijing edition of *KhG* was employed for ease of reference, the text was compared with the Śatapiṭaka edition and the Delhi edition, which each have the same page setting and are virtually identical. The 1965 edition of chapter *Ja* from Nang bstan shes rig 'dzin skyong slob gnyer khang has an entirely different pagesetting, however, and includes a greater number of contractions and variant spellings, along with an *addenda et corrigenda* by the editor.

"As for the ancestor, the architect (*phywa-mkhan*[8]) of the revolt, it was Bran-ka dPal-gyi Yon-tan who so acted. As neither men nor the earth could bear him as a lord, generally the paternal relatives—gods and demons—all acted and gathered at the oath cairn on Owl Plain.[9]

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8 *lDe'u*: *'cha'-mkhan*. It is possible that mKhas-pa *lDe'u* found *phywa-mkhan* difficult to interpret and therefore glossed the word with *'cha'-mkhan*, which allows the term to be translated as 'architect'. This spelling is consistent with the orthography in *lDe'u*, which differs from the 16th-century *KhG* in a number of ways, including the following: where *KhG* employs the '*m*' prefix, as in mChims, *lDe'u* almost invariably uses the '*a-chung*' prefix instead, as in 'Chims; where *KhG* uses an initial '*'Br*', *lDe'u* tends to use '*'Gr*', as in 'Brang-mtshams (*KhG*), and 'Grang-'tshams (*lDe'u*); where *KhG* uses '*Phy*', as in Phying-lung, *lDe'u* tends to use '*'Ch*', as in 'Ching-lung. This last feature explains the appearance in *lDe'u* of *'cha'-mkhan*, a term used in a similar manner in the colophon *'Phang-thang-ma Catalogue* (RTA-RDO 2003: 66) which states that the divine son Khri lDe-srong-btsan was the architect (*'cha' mkhan*) of the religious law in Tibet (*bod yul du chos khrims 'cha' mkhan lha sras khri lde srong btsan*). If *phywa-mkhan*, however, were the correct orthography, this would require a more nuanced translation, but the meaning would remain roughly the same. Sørensen, for his part, translates *kheng log byed pa'i phywa mkhan* as "spiritual instigator behind the revolt" (SØRENSEN 1994: 438, n. 1561. See also VITALI 2004: 116–17, n. 15). Treating the meaning of the phrase *phya-mkhan*, Stein states that it is found in the *Mahāvyutpatti* no. 3367 as the equivalent to *sthapati*, meaning "employee of the queen" in Tibetan. According to Monier-Williams, this Sanskrit word means 1) "lord of the place", that is to say, king, chief, governor; 2) quarter master of the women's chambers and 3) master craftsman, potter, carpenter, etc. Stein notes that it is the meaning 'architect' which seems to prevail in later texts (STEIN 1985: 105). *Phywa*/ *phya* is similar to *g.yang* in the sense that it can mean 'good fortune', or 'luck', though in a rather more visceral or substantive sense than it carries in English. Stein also translates it as 'quintessence' (STEIN 1961: 61). *Phywa* also indicates a class of sky gods intimately associated with the royal line as the paternal ancestors of the first Tibetan sovereign (KARMAY 1998 [1986]: 250–51).

9 *lDe'u* condenses the verse: *mi nas 'dre ni rje'u ma khyab pas / / lha 'dre kun gyis mna' dor 'dun ma byas /* (373). This seems to offer a slightly different meaning: "As it does not follow [to have] as lord (read *rje ru* for *rje'u*) a demon [sprung] from a man, all the gods and demons made an oath council". *Jo sras* offers a somewhat dubious reading: *mi bas 'dres kyang rje'u ma theg pas / lha 'dre kun gyis gnam 'thor mdun ma byas /* (145). Reading this at face value, one would translate it thus: "As they could not bear to have as lord (read *rje ru* for *rje'u*) a demon rather than a man, all the gods and demons made a council at gNam-'tho". However, if we read *gna'* or *mna'* for *gnam*, then the gods and demons make a council at the oath cairn". Cf. VITALI 2004: 117, n. 15. Assuming that dPa'-bo gTsug-lag has faithfully rendered the verse, the phrasings in *Jo sras* and *lDe'u* can be read as glosses and interpolations. It is obvious from all three versions that the gods held council concerning an oath, and the term *mna'-tho* indicates the cairn of stones that plays a central role in the taking of an oath. The phrase *mna' 'dor*, the gloss provided by *lDe'u*, can mean either to make an oath, or to renege on an oath, which introduces some considerable ambiguity into the translation. The result of the council is obvious, however, for despite the varying orthographies, it is clear in all three cases

At that time Bran-ka dPal-gyi Yon-tan, riding a wolf of grey (*sngon-po*)[10] iron and beating the ground with an iron staff, implored all of the gods and demons, 'Kill all of the lords (*rje-dpon*) without exception. Otherwise, scatter them in the eight directions.' At that time, Yar-lha Sham-po and the others appealed to dPal-gyi Yon-tan that there be a regional principality (*rje-dpon-tshan*) at the foot of each mountain. The council of paternal relatives—gods and demons—agreed to that.[11]
At the behest of the god gTsang-lha Bu-dar, Grom-pa and lHa-rtse were established as strongholds. Both the 'Bro and Cog-ro [clans] not rising [against each other] (*ma phyar byas*),[12] a regional principality was situated in the land of Upper gTsang.
At the behest of the god Kha-rag Khyung-btsun, 'Brang-mkhar and Bye-btsan were established as strongholds. The Byang and sNang

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that the indigenous deities of Tibet are at odds with Yon-tan and his *kheng-log* and have made a council in order to reach a suitable solution. Given *lDe'u* and *Jo sras*' insistence on a demon (*'dre*) where *KhG* has 'earth' (*sa*), *and Jo sras*' parallel *mi bas 'dres kyang* where *KhG* has *mi bas sas kyang*, one possibility is that the latter should be revised to 'as neither men nor gods' (*mi bas gsas kyang*).

[10] While *sngon-po* is usually translated with 'blue', when applied to animals it indicates the colour grey. Similarly, when applied to grass or foliage, it indicates what one tends to identify as green. Here, given that the wolf is made of iron, it might truly be blue.

[11] The last few lines differ slightly in *lDe'u*: *de skad zer bas bod kyi lha rnams kyis / dpal gyi yon tan la gsol ba / lha re* [*ra*] *de ni mkhar rtse shod na / / rje dpon tshan re bzhag par zhu ba phul / / lha 'dre thams cad sems mthun de la 'chams /* (*lDe'u*: 373–74). "The gods of Tibet appealed to dPal-gyi Yon-tan that each of the gods (*lha re* for *lha ra*), in the upper and lower strongholds, set down a regional principality. All of the gods and demons agreed to that". *ShB* is more explicit about the nature of the request: *yar lha sham po la sogs lha rnams kyis/ nyed lha rnams kyi sten yul du rje re'i 'jog par shus te/* (647, l.7) "Yar-lha Sham-po and the other gods requested that a lord be installed in each of their dominions".

[12] An alternative meaning of *ma phyar byas* would be "having not brandished" or "having not hoisted [battle flags or banners]." Vitali glosses *ma phyar byas* with *mo byar*, which he translates with 'cast lots' (VITALI 2004: 116, n. 15). While each of these would supply roughly the same meaning as "not rising [against each other]," a contradictory reading is offered by *ShB* (647, l.7), which reads *ma char byas*, meaning "not pairing." The context of the passage however, which is the narrative of the creation of regional principalities, effectively rules out this latter reading, since the passage concerns agreement and alliance, not conflict. This is clarified by the language used in *Jo sras* and by *lDe'u*, which shows that the regional principalities were created not only at the behest of the mountain gods, but at the behest of the two clans as well: / *gtsang lha phu dar lha yis zhu ba phul / / grom pa lha rtse btsan po'i mkhar la brten / / 'bro dang lcog ro zhu ba byas nas su / / nye bo gzhung stag rje dpon tshan gcig chags /* (*lDe'u*: 374). "At the behest of the god gTsang-lha Phu-dar, Grom-pa lHa-rtse was established as a stronghold. At the behest of the 'Bro and lCog-ro [clans], Nye-bo gZhung-stag became a regional principality." Virtually the same language is found in *Jo sras* (145).

[clans] not rising [against each other], a regional principality was situated in Ru-mtshams gZhu-snye.

At the behest of Thang-lha Ya-bzhur, Zwa and Dom-pa were established as strongholds. The sGro and rMa [clans] not rising [against each other], 'Phan-yul Za-gad became a regional principality.

At the behest of Yar-lha Sham-po, sNa-mo Yar-rtse and [sNa-mo] Mar-rtse were both established. Both mChims and gNyags [clans] not rising [against each other], a regional principality was situated in Upper Yar-lungs.

At the behest of the nine gTam-lha brothers (gTam-lha spun [dpun] dgu), Bya-tshang and Gung-snang were established as strongholds. The sNyi-ba and Shud-pu [clans] not rising [against each other], gTam-shul lHo-brag became a regional principality.

At the behest of 'Chos-lha dKon-pa, Phu-gud and Co-mkhar were established as strongholds. Both Khu and gNyags [clans] not rising [against each other], a regional principality was situated in 'Chos.

So it is said and so on. Likewise, nine separate chiefs and chiefdoms (*rje-dpon rje-tshan*) with the sub-principality Chos-'khor-rkyen makes ten.[13]

It so transpired at the behest of the gods. Then Bran-ka dPal-gyi Yon-tan manifested as sNyi-ba bSam-po and reconciled the lords and subjects.[14] So it appears from the *Lo rgyus chen mo*."

It is evident from the above treatment of the narrative as it is preserved in *KhG*, *Jo sras*, and *lDe'u*, each stemming from the *Lo rgyus chen mo* of Khu-ston brTson-'grus g.yung-drung, that the narrative of the regional principalities represents not a continuation of the Revolt, but its resolution. This same passage has been treated quite differently, however, in earlier translations.[15] The matter is

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[13] Petech understands that a single chief was appointed in each area (PETECH 1994: 655), and Vitali translates *rje-dpon-tshan* with 'lineage (*tshan*) of *rje dpon*' and 'lineage of chiefs' (VITALI 2004: 116–17, n. 15). While I take *tshan* to refer to a political and geographical unit rather than a princely lineage, we shall see below that each *rje-dpon-tshan* appears to have had a ruler.

[14] I have been unable to find other references to sNyi-ba Bsam-po. Vitali makes the intriguing suggestion that his name indicates that he was a member of the sNyi-ba clan, thus indicating a human actor who embodied the conciliatory emanation of Bran-ka dPal-yon to broker a new political order (VITALI 2004: 115).

[15] Professor Petech treated the narrative as it is found in *KhG*, *lDe'u* and *Jo sras*, but read this passage as a continuation of the Revolt, with the pairs of clans named in each principality taking part in hostilities against each other (PETECH 1994: 655). Compare this with the recent study of Vitali (VITALI 2004: 116–19), and with the interpretation of Karmay, who, in his brief treatment of this narrative produced a table similar to those given below (KARMAY 1998 [1996]: 437–38), and with Nor-brang O-rgyan's interpretation of the passage in his book devoted entirely to the

clarified by the context, however, and other parts of *KhG* confirm the veracity of the reading presented above. dPa'-bo gTsug-lag's interpretation of his cited passage is established conclusively by the final lines of his introductory nine-syllable verse to this section of his history where he writes,

> */ rje kheng khyad med bod khams sil bur song / / bang so rnams kyang bgos te phal cher brus / / rje yi mgur lha rnams kyi g.yar ngo las / / rje tshan rnam dgu rje lhus bcu ru chags /* (*KhG*: 425). "There being no differentiation between lords and subjects, Tibet went into fragments. Even the tombs were divided and most of them were dug up. By the face [command] (*g.yar-ngo*) of the mountain gods (*mgur-lha*[16]) of the lord(s), there evolved nine regional principalities, ten [with] the sub-principality (*rje-lhu*)."

Elsewhere, after giving a genealogy of various religious lineages quoted from the *Yar lung jo bo chos 'byung* (composed in 1376), dPa'-bo gTsug-lag refers back to the *rje-dpon-tshan* before resuming his nine-syllable verse:

> */ de ltar rgyal brgyud sil chad 'di rnams rje'i sku lha so so'i brten [bsten] yul du bgos pas rje chen rnam pa dgu/ chos 'khor bsam yas kyi rkyen du rje lhu gcig dang bcu zhes grags pa yin* (*KhG*: 439). "Thus by allocating the homelands of each of the respective mountain gods/ tutelary divinities of each of the lords of these fragmented royal lineages, it is well known [that there evolved] nine great lords, ten considering sub-principality (*rje-lhu*)[17] of the monastery of bSam-yas."

This, dPa'-bo gTsug-lag's short commentary on his quotation from the *Lo rgyus chen mo*, clarifies the text considerably. It reinforces the interpretation that political territory was delimited as the domain of a mountain deity. dPa'-bo gTsug-lag also provides us with his interpretation of Khu-ston's somewhat eccentric phrasing when describing the establishment of the stronghold(s), as in the phrase /

'period of fragments' (O RGYAN 1991: 146–47), which are in rough agreement with the conclusions put forward here.

16 Nebesky-Wojkowitz cites Klong rdol bla ma's claim that the *mgur lha*, thirteen in number, consist of the well known nine *Srid-pa chags-pa'i lha* and four other mountain deities (NEBESKY-WOJKOWITZ 1998 [1956] 223–24).

17 Here *lhu*, meaning 'part' or 'portion' probably signifies a political entity too small to be considered a full-fledged regional principality.

grom pa lha rtse btsan pa'i mkhar la brten [*bsten*] / "Grom-pa and lHa-rtse were established as strongholds", or literally, "Grom-pa and lHa-rtse were relied upon as strongholds". dPa'-bo gTsug-lag glosses this in his sentence with the term *brten* [*bsten*] *yul*, meaning 'home' or 'homeland', but perhaps better rendered contextually as 'dominion', as it indicates the territory delimited for each respective regional principality by their respective mountain deities. This is further supported by *ShB*, which states that the gods requested that a lord be installed in each of their domains (*sten-yul*): *yar lha sham po la sogs lha rnams kyis/ nyed lha rnams kyi sten yul du rje re'i 'jog par shus te/* (647, l. 7).

The *gSung 'bum* of Shud-phu Nam-mkha' rgyal-mtshan further clarifies one of the greatest mysteries of the narrative and its catalogue: the lack of any lords (*rje*) in the various *rje-dpon-tshan*. Immediately following the catalogue, the text states that Shud-phu Zla-ba'i seng-ge, a descendant of the religious minister of Khri Srong-lde-btsan, Shud-phu dPal gyi seng-ge, was invited by gTam-lha Pho-dgu, the deity presiding over the regional principality of lHo-brag (*ShB*: 648, ll. 4–5). This suggests that rulers were invited at the behest of each mountain deity to rule their territory. The ruler in this case is of the Shud-phu clan, one of the two mentioned in connection with this area.

From all of this it is evident that the establishment of the regional principalities was not a continuation of the Revolt, but its resolution through the creation of small polities each governed by a local ruler appointed by the local mountain god. The gods and demons of Tibet, particularly Yar-lha Sham-po and the mountain gods, effectively restore a semblance of order, albeit on a more decentralised model, out of the chaos of the Revolt and the absence of centralised rule. In this regard, the local aspect of the mountain deities as powerful symbols of regionalism—a role that was necessarily usurped and co-opted by the centralising project of the Tibetan Empire—returned to the foreground. The dualistic nature of the mountain deities is also emphasised in this narrative: it appears at the outset that the gods and demons of Tibet might resolve the social upheaval of the Revolt by killing or exiling all the lords and leaders (*rje-dpon*), but instead they create regional principalities under the authority of the mountain deities. The actions of the gods above as creators of the principalities mirrors actions of the men below. By de-emphasising the human

aspect that gave rise to these principalities, namely an alliance between clans, the narrative places the focus on the divine, and thus each regional principality, presided over by its patron mountain god, becomes a political entity with a divine writ. It is an important formulation of Tibetan political theory in which, crucially, it is the gods who establish the polities.

TIBETAN CLASSIFICATIONS OF TERRITORY: THE REGIONAL PRINCIPALITIES AS A 'CATALOGUE OF PRINCIPALITIES'

In many ways the narrative of the destruction of the Tibetan Empire is in fact the reverse of the narrative of its unification: the mountain deities were brought together during the empire and they dispersed to support regional rulers after its collapse; the twelve minor kingdoms were brought under the sway of a unified Tibet (sPu-rgyal), and after the collapse of the empire, Tibet was broken into regional principalities. The narrative and structural symmetry between the myth of dPal-gyi Yon-tan and the regional principalities and the legends of the descent of gNya'-khri bTsan-po and the unification of Tibet extends even beyond these few examples, but an analysis of this will have to be postponed to a later date, as we are concerned here primarily with the content of the catalogue of regional principalities in relation to Tibetan history, and clan territory in particular. Such a project presents some well-known problems, of course, as quite a lot of this passage is formulaic, and the principalities are presented in precisely the type of classificatory schema about which Stein offered a salutary warning in the closing lines of his pioneering study on Tibetan 'protoclans'.[18] Referring to catalogues of territory, Stein writes:

> At least we know in the future to recognise there the presence and importance of classificatory schemas. Real names and facts have been used there, but one can never forget that they have been arranged in a

[18] This term denotes groups such as the lDong, one of the first four (or six, or sometimes seven) 'proto-clans' from which the named Tibetan clans claim descent. For a chart showing how this descent from the proto-clans was imagined in the 16th-century *bShad mdzod yid gzhin nor bu*, see Smith 2003: 218–20.

> schematic view of the world. At the present hour, one must content oneself with approximations.[19]

Stein is overly modest in his final sentence considering the enormous amount of ground broken in his work, but as the amount of data concerning Tibetan clans is absolutely staggering, it would be nearly impossible to make an authoritative study. As regards the structure of the catalogues of the regional principalities, a number of principalities (6+1=7) have been fit into a classificatory schema of nine/ten (9+1=10), where nine signifies totality.

The formulation of regional principalities as nine in number, despite the actual presence of only six in the text, may further indicate a relation with the nine mountain deities of Tibet regarded as sons of the mountain god 'O-lde Gung-rgyal. Petech pointed this out in his treatment of this passage, and he noted that three of the gods mentioned are also found in IOL Tib J 734 (PETECH 1994: 658, n. 32).[20] Likewise, examining the formulation of these nine related mountain gods given in *lDe'u*, only Yar-lha Sham-po, Thang-lha Ya-bzhur, and rTsang-lha [Bu]-dar are confirmed in the list (*lDe'u*: 230).[21] The data contained in these catalogues, despite the numeric inconsistencies encountered due to the need to make the total conform to a resonant number such as nine or twelve, generally reflect an internally coherent ordering of space and there is no reason to dismiss them out of hand.

The schematic organisation of the regional principalities into a catalogue listing land, mountain god, stronghold(s) and clans is quite similar to those of the 'catalogues of principalities' or 'catalogues of minor kingdoms' (*rgyal-phran*) found in numerous Dunhuang documents (LALOU 1965). P1286, an official or semi-official text containing a royal genealogy of the Tibetan emperors, also contains a catalogue that enumerates the region, ruler, and ministers of each minor kingdom conquered by the Tibetan Empire. Though the text names eighteen of these minor kingdoms, it explicitly refers to twelve/thirteen (12+1=13), another culturally resonant number that

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[19] Translated from the original French (STEIN 1961: 85).

[20] For IOL Tib J 734, see THOMAS 1957: 52–102.

[21] See also Karmay's table of the nine mountain gods, which draws on the *lHa rgod gnyan gyi byung rabs* in addition to both *lDe'u* and IOL Tib J 734 (KARMAY 1998 [1996]: 449, table II).

often appears in numeric classifications (BACOT *et al.* 1940–1946: 80, 83–85).

This type of catalogue also closely resembles the liturgies found in Old Tibetan ritual texts, such as IOL Tib J 734 (THOMAS 1957: 52–102) and P1285 (LALOU 1958). Each of these texts contains ritual recitations of healing narratives that serve as divine antecedents for the healing rites performed by the ritual specialists who chant them. The *dramatis personae* of these narratives are mythical kings and gods, who are healed by a ritual specialist—either a *gshen* or a *bon*. Though they transpire in mythical time, and though the personal names are, like those in the 'catalogues of principalities', largely formulaic, these narratives are set in actual places, and travel either East to West or West to East along the gTsang-po River. As in similar types of recitations and 'oral journeys' from the Himalayan region, a classificatory schema populated by divine antecedents is projected onto the actual landscape to ensure ritual efficacy (DESJARLAIS 1989: 291).[22] The close affiliation of these 'catalogues of ritual antecedents' with the more official 'catalogues of principalities' reveals the milieu of Tibet's early royal genealogists.[23] In this manner, official or semi-official catalogues of territory such as that in P1286, a royal genealogy and paean to the bTsan-po's divine origin, and the related catalogue in P1290, were constructed on the same template employed by Tibet's ritual specialists, thus investing these catalogues with the resonating force of divine precedent. The failure to make the number of territories adhere to the classificatory schema, along with the quality of the data itself, which can often be corroborated by independent Old Tibetan sources, suggests that the information contained in these catalogues of principalities cannot be dismissed as the product of a mere classificatory schema. Though the form dictates the content in the 'catalogues of ritual antecedents' in IOL Tib J 734 and P1285, in the catalogues of principalities in P1286 and P1290, the content asserts itself by defying the form. Similarly, though the 'catalogue of regional

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[22] See also ALLEN 1974, who likened similar recitations among the Thulung Rai of Nepal to an oral funeral procession. See GAENSZLE 1994 for similar data on the Mewahang Rai. On the ritual organisation of space along the river in early Tibetan ritual, see DOTSON 2008.

[23] This adds an interesting fold to our understanding of the milieu in which documents such as the royal genealogy in P1286 and the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* were written. For evidence of Chinese influences in the latter, see TAKEUCHI 1985.

principalities' is certainly constructed according to a 'catalogue of ritual antecedents', it is the content that asserts its primary status in the 'catalogues of regional principalities'.

The extant catalogues of minor kingdoms were likely committed to writing in the latter part of the Tibetan Empire. Though the political situation they describe appears to date to the sixth century, just prior to the rise of the Tibetan Empire,[24] Tibet's royal historians relate the minor kingdoms to the arrival from heaven of the first Tibetan ruler (HAARH 1969: 244). Within the narrative of the unification of the Tibetan Empire, the backdating of the minor kingdoms into a vague ancestral past represented by the iconic 'O-lde sPu-rgyal,[25] along with the ritualist schematic that attempted to fit eighteen minor kingdoms into a template of twelve, may be seen as a project by royal or state historians to legitimate the Tibetan rulers by appealing to divine precedents and the language of ritual.

Similarly, the narrative of regional principalities and the catalogues of regional principalities served to legitimate the formation of small polities 'at the behest of' the mountain deities. As with the catalogues of minor kingdoms in P1286 and P1290, the catalogues of regional principalities, though they contain data relating to a specific time and place, were more important for their narrative function. While the regional principalities seem in fact to have been short-lived polities, it is their narrative function as the symbolic end of the Tibetan Empire and the reassertion of decentralisation that made them worthy of recording, albeit in a highly mythologised form, within the context of Tibetan historiography.

Clans in the 'Catalogues of Principalities'

Based on their formulaic appearance in these catalogues of minor kingdoms, one can say that the places named are mostly real, and the

[24] According to Wangdu, the minor kingdoms represent small polities conquered by gNam-ri sLon-mtshan and Khri Srong-btsan (605?–649) as the Yar-lung kingdom expanded outward to form the Tibetan Empire (WANGDU 2002: 24). Likewise, Stein states that the minor kingdoms "probably date from the sixth century" (STEIN 1972: 47).

[25] Richardson made the apt observation that 'O-lde sPu-rgyal came to symbolise or personify Tibet "much as John Bull stands for Britain and Uncle Sam for the U.S.A." (RICHARDSON 1998 [1989]: 126).

people mostly mythical. The ministers, however, are only designated by clan names. Commenting in particular on the catalogue of minor kingdoms in P1286, Yamaguchi writes, "In some cases, it may be better to interpret the term Minister used in this table as another influential family, though under the control of the 'small king', rather than one who actually served the king as a minister" (YAMAGUCHI 1975: 24). To this it might be added that their designation by only their clan name suggests that these clans held hereditary positions within the government—most likely a coalition between clans not unlike the polity forged by gNam-ri sLon-mtshan.

In form as well as content, the catalogues of minor kingdoms are the antecedents of the catalogues of regional principalities.[26] There were, however, other schematic catalogues of territory in the intervening period between the formation and the collapse of the Tibetan Empire. The best known of these are the 'army catalogues' of the Horns (Ru) of Tibet and their subordinate units called *stong-sde*, or 'thousand-districts', which each consisted of one thousand households (TAKEUCHI 1994: 861, n. 36). Besides providing such information as the names of the Horn (Ru) leaders, the appearances of the Horn flags, horses and so forth, the army catalogues give the clan affiliation of the head of each thousand-district, the *stong-dpon*. The heads of thousand-districts are indicated only by their clan names, most likely indicating again the hereditary nature of the post. This also can be taken to indicate, to some extent, the general clan composition of the thousand-district itself. It has been established, however, by Uray and Uebach and also by Takeuchi, that the Tibetan army, in some instances at least, maintained an aggressive policy of undermining regional and clan solidarity (URAY and UEBACH 1994, TAKEUCHI 2003). Nevertheless, the catalogue links plainly and explicitly a single clan with the leadership of each thousand-district.

The catalogues of the Horns and thousand-districts of Tibet are found in *lDe'u*, *KhG*, *BK*, *Ne'u*, and *Jo sras*. The latter two sources represent a separate tradition, which according to Uebach dates to between 731 and 744 (UEBACH 1985: 150). Sadly, no clans are mentioned in this catalogue. Based on the mention of various Horn

[26] From a historical point of view there were likely some serious qualitative differences between the minor kingdoms and regional principalities as two distinct forms of polities. A detailed investigation of these differences, however, is beyond the scope of this paper.

generals in independent sources such as the *Old Tibetan Chronicle*, the *Old Tibetan Annals*, and the Zhol Pillar, it may be claimed with some certainty that the catalogue preserved in *lDe'u*, *BK*, and *KhG* describes the period between 758 and 764. 'Chims rGyal-gzigs Shud-ting is named in this catalogue as the general of Lower Left Horn (*lDe'u*: 261; *KhG*: 188; and *BK*: 439). This is of course the famous general who participated in the Tibetan sack of the Chinese capital in 763. He is mentioned in this connection in the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* (BACOT *et al.*1940–1946: 114, 153) and in the south face inscription of the Zhol Pillar (RICHARDSON 1985: 12–13, l. 57). The final two entries in the 'military version' of the *Old Tibetan Annals,* which cover the years 762+763 and 764, also record the sack of Changan and its aftermath (BACOT *et al.*1940–1946: 59–60, 65–66).[27] The final entry for the dragon year 764 records promotions and transferrals made after the generals' triumphant return. It states, "Zhang [mChims-rgyal] rGyal-zigs [Shu-theng] was bestowed with the great turquoise insignia and praised for saying he was content with the rank of mGar 'dzi-rmun" (*zhang rgyal zigs chen pho g.yu'I yi ge stsalde / mgar 'dzi rmun gyi thang du chog shesu bstod //*) (BACOT *et al.* 1940–1946: 60, 66).[28] This indicates that mChims rGyal-zigs Shu-theng ended his tenure as general in 764, after the sack of the Chinese capital.[29] The catalogues of thousand-districts in *KhG, lDe'u* and *BK*, therefore, cannot post-date this year.

Apart from mChims rGyal-zigs Shu-theng, the general of Lower Central Horn, dBa's sKyes-bzang sTag-snang (*lDe'u*: 261; *KhG*: 188; and *BK*: 439) is also found in both the *Chronicle* and *Annals* in connection with the same events. Given that these men are considered military commanders in Old Tibetan sources and in the army catalogue, this allows the army catalogue found in *KhG*, *lDe'u*

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[27] As Uray has demonstrated, the second to last entry in the 'military version' of the *Old Tibetan Annals* in fact covers two years, 762 and 763 (URAY 1991: 205–206).

[28] From the edict of Khri Srong-lde-btsan preserved by dPa'-bo gTsug-lag, it appears that mGar-'dzi-rmun is the highest rank among ministers of the interior. In the list of those who swore to the edict, which likely dates to *circa* 779, the first of the ministers of the interior (*nang-blon*) is Minister Gra-'dzi Zhang Rams-shags (*blon gra 'dzi zhang rams shags*) (*KhG*: 372). Having initially read this as simply a peculiar name, I am inclined now to read this as 'the Gra-'dzi/ mGar-'dzi-rmun minister, Zhang ['Bro Khri-zu] Rams-shags'.

[29] Mchims Rgyal-zigs Shu-theng would go on to become chief minister, and is named as such in Khri Srong-lde-btsan's Bsam-yas Edict (*KhG*: 372).

and *BK* to be dated to any time between the reorganisation of the Horns in 744 and mChims rGyal-zigs Shu-theng's promotion in 764. However, the period leading up to the sack of the Chinese capital recommends itself as the most likely date for these catalogues.[30] This claim was perhaps already made, though not very specifically, in the preamble to the catalogue in *BK*: "concerning the generals of the four Horns at the time of fighting between China and Tibet..." (*rgya bod 'thab dus ru bzhi'i dmag dpon la /*) (*BK*: 437).

Another lesser known catalogue of territory, that of the eighteen shares of power (*dbang-ris bco-brgyad*), is not as complex as the other catalogues in that it only names territories and the clans to which they belonged, which often appear in pairs. Contained in the catalogue of the six institutions (*khos drug*) in *KhG*, where it forms the second of the six,[31] the tradition is also preserved in *GK*[32] and in *lDe'u*, which refers to the eighteen shares of power as the "administration of the territories" (*yul gyi khod bshams pa*) (*lDe'u*: 273). The list contains numerous orthographic errors and only names twelve districts, all of which correspond roughly to *KhG*'s list, albeit in a different order. The phrase *yul gyi khod bshams pa*, however, is reminiscent of the entry in the *Old Tibetan Annals* for the tiger year 654:

> *stagI lo la bab ste / btsan pho mer khe na' bzhugs shIng / blon che stong rtsan gyis / mong pu sral 'dzong du' bsduste / rgod g.yung dbye zhing / mkho sham chen pho bgyI ba'I rtsis mgo bgyI bar lo gchIg /* "It fell in the year of the tiger. The bTsan-pho resided at Mer-khe and Chief Minister sTong-rtsan convened [the council] at Mong-pu Sral-

[30] *BK*'s catalogue differs slightly from those of *KhG* and *lDe'u* in such a way that it seems to predate them slightly. As such, it stands between the 'early army catalogues' of *Jo sras* and *Ne'u*, which reflect a pre-744 arrangement, and the 'later army catalogues' of *lDe'u* and *KhG*.

[31] For a detailed outline of the six institutions in *KhG*, see URAY (1972: 18–23). Uebach provides a similar outline for both *lDe'u* and *Jo sras* in UEBACH (1992). Tucci provides a table for the eighteen shares of power in TUCCI (1956: 77–90). My unpublished doctoral thesis is a detailed study of the *Section on Law and State* in its three main versions and its basis in Old Tibetan sources and its relationship to Old Tibetan sources; see DOTSON 2007.

[32] The *rGyal po bka'i thang yig* (*GK*) (1997 reprint of 1986 edition) refers to the eighteen thousand-districts, but without any further reference to their clan leadership or clan composition. The correspondence of this catalogue to the other two is proven by the fact that the first three thousand-districts are said to belong to the ruler and his entourage: *rgyal po'i 'phrin las sku 'khor stong sde gsum* (*GK*: 184), which corresponds precisely with *KhG* and *lDe'u*.

> ’dzong. He divided the military (*rgod*) and the civilians (*g.yung*) and made the manual (*rtsis-mgo*) for creating the great administration (*mkho-sham chen-pho*). So one year.” (SPANIEN AND IMAEDA 1979: pl. 580, l. 27).

Yamaguchi also noted the possible connection between the six institutions (*khos-drug*) and the *mkho-sham chen-pho*, which he took to mean “the extensive system for supplying human and material necessities” (*mkho rgyu gshon pa*) (YAMAGUCHI 1992: 59). Though this is perhaps insufficient to conclude with certainty that the tradition of the eighteen shares of power dates to the year 654, an examination of its contents reveals that it very likely predates the catalogues of thousand-districts and may indeed originate from a territorial division as early as the mid-seventh century.[33]

Seen in context, the catalogue of regional principalities is part of a long tradition of territorial catalogues. In its schematic structure and its mythical content, it is most similar to the catalogues of minor kingdoms. The two traditions of territorial catalogues that come between the catalogue of minor kingdoms and the catalogue of regional principalities relate to the others not only in their conceptual ordering of territory, but also because of their attention to clans in relation to territory, a topic to which we will return after considering the structural content of the catalogue of regional principalities.

The Formal Structure of the Regional Principalities

Below are the three versions of the catalogue of regional principalities from *KhG*, *Jo sras*, and *lDe’u* presented in tables.

[33] Dung-dkar Blo-bzang ’Phrin-las dates the eighteen shares of power to the reign of Srong-btsan sGam-po, stating that it represents an organisation whereby clans and ministers were forced to abide by the law and pay a periodic tribute to the state, but were allowed to retain control over large sections of their own lands and subjects as long as their lineage endured, provided that they remained loyal to the emperor and did not run afoul of the law (DUNG DKAR 2002: 1860–61). This hypothesis, though perhaps little more than an educated guess on the nature and date of the eighteen shares of power, offers a concise portrait of the working practice of the Tibetan Empire in regard to ministerial and clan territory.

Table 1: The catalogue of regional principalities in *KhG* (432)

	Regional principality	*Strongholds*	*Clan leaders*	*God*
1	gTsang-stod-yul	Grom-pa and lHa-rtse	’Bro and Cog-ro	gTsang-lha Bu-dar
2	Ru-mtshams gZhu-snye	’Brang-mkhar and Bye-btsan	Byang and sNang	Kha-rag Khyung-btsun
3	’Phan-yul Za-gad	Zwa and Dom-pa	sGro and rMa	Thang-lha Ya-bzhur
4	Yar-lungs stod	sNa-mo Yar-rtse and [sNa-mo] Mar-rtse	mChims and gNyags	Yar-lha Sham-po
5	gTam-shul lHo-brag	Bya-tshang and Gung-snang	sNyi-ba and Shud-pu	gTam-lha dpun dgu
6	’Chos	Phu-gud and Co-mkhar	Khu and gNyags	’Chos-lha dKon-pa
7	Chos-’khor-rkyen[34]			

Table 2: The catalogue of regional principalities in *Jo sras* (145–46)

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	Regional Principality	*Strongholds*	*Clan leaders*	*God*
1	Nye-mo gZhu-brtags	Grom-pa lHa-rtse	’Bro and lCog-ro	gTsang-lha Bu-dar
2	’Phan-yul Za-skad btags-pa	sBrang-mkhar sBre-can	Myang and sNang	Kha-rag Khyung-btsun
3	lHo-brag gTam-shul	Bya-tshang and Gung-snang	sNyi and Shud	lTam-lha Pho-dgu
4	Yar-lung stod	sNa-mo and Sham-po	Khu and sNyags	Yar-lha Sham-po
5	’Phyos	Pho-rgyud and rTse-mkhar	Tshe and shud	’Phyos-lha dKon-pa

[34] As mentioned above, this sub-principality is located at bSam-yas Monastery. See also ORGYAN 1991: 147.

Table 3: The catalogue of regional principalities in *lDe'u* (374)

	Regional Principality	*Strongholds*	*Clan leaders*	*God*
1	Nye-bo gZhung-stag	Grom-pa and lHa-rtse	'Bro and lCog-ro	gTsang-lha Phu-dar
2	'Phan-yul Za-gad stag-pa[35]	sBrang-char and sBre-tsan	Myang and sNang	Kha-rag Khyung-btsun
3	Byang-tshar Gla-na			lHam-lha pho-rgyud
4	lHo-brag rTag-shul		sNyi and Bud	
5	Yar-lung stod		Khu and sNyags	Yar-lha Sham-bu
6	'Phyos	Pho-rgyud and Co-mkhar	Tshe and Bud	'Phyos-lha dKar-po

Table 4: The catalogue of regional principalities in *ShB* (647–48)

	Regional principality	*Strongholds*	*Clan leaders*	*God*
1	'O-yug Sha-u	Khrom-pa and lHa-rtse	'Gro and lCog-ro	gTsang-lha Phu-dar
2	Yar-lungs Thil			Yar-lha Sham-po
3	'Chos			mChon-lha dKon-pa
4	lHo-brag		mNya'-ba and Shud-phu	gTam-lha Pho-dgu[36]

The catalogue found in *lDe'u* is most certainly confused, and that provided in *Jo sras* is only marginally better. Both versions appear very corrupt in comparison with that of *KhG*. In *Jo sras* and in *lDe'u*,

[35] The text differs here from the established pattern. It reads: */ / 'phan yul za gad stag par rje'u tshan gcig chags /.*

[36] The catalogue in *ShB* ends: *gzhan yang rje tshan lnga dang/ rje tshan dgu 'i chags tshul la rnams rgyas par 'dod na de nyid du lta ba bya'o/* (648, ll. 1–2) "A further five principalities makes nine. If you want a particularly detailed explanation of the manner in which the nine principalities came into existence, you will have to look into just that."

the first principality mirrors that of *KhG*, but names Nye-bo gZhung-stag instead of gTsang-stod-yul and follows the same pattern in the second place, naming ’Phan-yul Za-gad stag-pa, which should be paired with Thang-lha Ya-bzhur and not the mountain god Kha-rag Khyung-btsun. *lDe’u* lists only five regional principalities, omitting, but for its name wrongly appended to the region of gZhu Nye-mo, the regional principality of ’Phan-yul Za-gad. By far the more reliable catalogue is that recorded by dPa’-bo gTsug-lag, once again confirming his reputation as one of the most reliable Tibetan historians.[37] It is primarily his catalogue that will be followed below in an investigation of the geography of the regional principalities and the territorial associations of the clans listed in each territory. The catalogue of *ShB* only names four and is very much out of order in comparison with *KhG*. Aside from the apparent error of naming ’O-yug Sha-u in place of upper gTsang, the catalogue conforms in content to the others.

Concerning the strongholds, it is fairly clear that there were two in every regional principality. As demonstrated above, *lDe’u* mentions upper and lower strongholds (*mkhar rtse shod*) in each regional principality. In ’Phan-yul Za-gad there are explicitly two strongholds, Zwa and Dom-pa, and the same may be said also of Upper Yar-lungs, where sNa-mo Yar-rtse and [sNa-mo] Mar-rtse) are both established as strongholds. Likewise in Upper gTsang, Grom-pa lHa-rtse is made of two separate well-attested toponyms. The strongholds of the three remaining principalities, ’Brang-mkhar Bye-btsan in Ru-mtshams gZhu-snye, Bya-tshang Gung-snang in gTam-shul lHo-brag, and Phu-gud Co-mkhar in ’Chos, are most likely names indicating two separate strongholds, but unfortunately the names of these strongholds are unfamiliar. Petech and Vitali each understood there to be generally just one stronghold in each *rje-dpon-tshan* (PETECH 1994: 655; VITALI 2004: 115, n. 15). Karmay, by his parsing of the place names in his tabular representation of the strongholds, appears to agree with the position put forward here that there were two in each *rje-dpon-tshan* (Karmay 1998 [1996]: 449, table III).

[37] Vitali similarly privileges the *KhG* account in his treatment of the narrative in its three main sources; VITALI 2004: 116, n. 15.

The appearance of clans in pairs in relation to territory is well known already from the catalogues of pre-imperial minor kingdoms (*rgyal-phran*), and clans appear paired in a single territory more often than not in the catalogue of the eighteen shares of power.[38] Nicholas Allen, considering pairs of clan names found in the songs of Sad-mar-kar in the *Old Tibetan Chronicle*, hypothesises that "the pairings may reflect an arrangement of intermarrying moieties, with each clan representing a 'half society' that intermarries with the other half" (ALLEN 1978: 351). This interpretation is further supported by Allen's work on kinship terminologies (ALLEN 1976), and his hypothesis may be easily extended to the two clans named as 'ministers' of each minor kingdom and also to the two clans that make up each regional principality.[39] It would be rash, however, to apply too readily Allen's hypothesis, as the mere schematic pairing of clans within a single territory is not enough to posit dual organisation, let alone a relationship of marriage classes between the two clans. The narrative of regional principalities is unfortunately silent on the relationship between the pairs of clans, and the catalogue seems to establish nothing more than the territorial association of each pair of clans with their respective territory.

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[38] In point of fact, though it was stated above that a single clan was named in connection with each *stong-sde*, from a literalist point of view this is not precisely the case. In the catalogues of thousand-districts, the territories and the clans each appear in pairs. In Lower Left Horn, for example, *lDe'u* states, */yar lung 'chings lung/ gnyis snyags dang tshes spong gi stong sde/* "Yar-lung and 'Chings-lung, the two, are thousand-districts of the sNyags and Tshes-spong [clans]" (*lDe'u*: 374). Following all others who have researched this topic, I have read this to mean that rather than sharing power in both Yar-lung and 'Chings-lung, Yar-lung was commanded by the sNyags clan, and Phyings-lung by the Tshes-pong clan. The appearance of these territories in pairs is of course a great boon to the student of historical geography, as it indicates geographical proximity. Thus if one half of a pair can be identified, it generally follows that the other will be nearby.

[39] In the case of the *rgyal-phran*, this hypothesis is strengthened somewhat by the paired construction of the clan names Pho-gu and Pog-rol (P1286), Sam-pa and Sa-pod, Dang and Ding, and lHo-blon thog and lHo-blon snar (all from P1060). Such paired constructions of clan names is reminiscent of the two original clans of the Chantel of Nepal, the Garabja and Balanja, where Balanja "may be an alliterative invention to designate the second moiety" (DE SALES 1993: 95). Likewise, the Himdung and Dimdung among the Tamang, in which the name Himdung was artificially created in relation to the Dimdung. The social and ritual relationships between these two groups may be somewhat informative in considering any reconstruction of clan society in imperial Tibet (HOLMBERG 1989: see especially: 51–52, 55–59, 64–66, 214–16).

CLAN TERRITORY AND THE HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE REGIONAL PRINCIPALITIES

Concerning the locations of the regional principalities, it is worth noting that the catalogue of regional principalities, like nearly all of those catalogues that enumerate the minor kingdoms, moves generally in a west to east trajectory.[40] It begins, therefore, with Upper gTsang.

gTsang-stod-yul

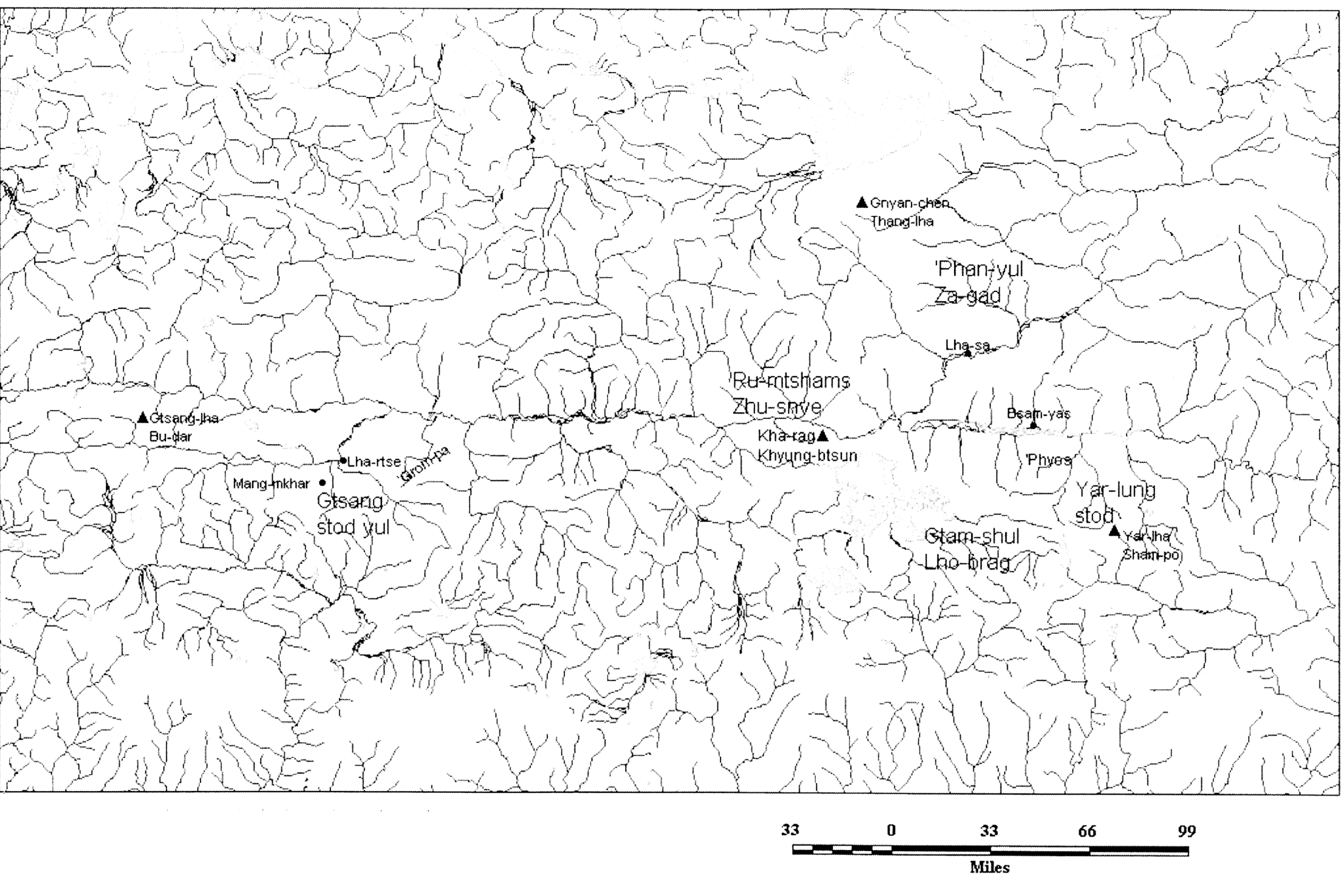
The location of Upper gTsang, the regional principality of the 'Bro and Cog-ro clans, is specified rather precisely by the two toponyms that form the name of the stronghold(s): Grom-pa and lHa-rtse. Both Grom-pa and lHa-rtse are found in the various army catalogues as thousand-districts of Upper Ru-lag, each commanded by the 'Bro clan.[41] This clan also commanded the other pair of thousand-districts in Upper Ru-lag, Mang-dkar and Khri-bom, and a 'Bro clansman served as general of Upper Ru-lag. Grom-pa, paired with lHa-rtse in all the extant lists of thousand-districts, is the site of the 'horn-suppressing temple' of Grom-pa Kyang/rGyang, located on the left hip of the supine demoness (SØRENSEN 1994: 563–67). Grom-pa has also been identified by Uebach as identical with the Bon-po holy place of Gram-pa kha'u, located "in the valley of 'Gram above Sa skya" (UEBACH 1999: 264). The thousand-district of Grom-pa likely covered most of the Grum River Valley, stretching from old lHa-rtse to the southeast past Sa-skya.

Wangdu claims that lHa-rtse corresponds to old lHa-rtse village in modern lHa-rtse county (WANGDU 1994: 633). Another possibility is

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[40] Stein noted this fact in connection to the context of the catalogue of thirteen kings in P1060 (STEIN 1971: 492, n. 37).

[41] *lDe'u*: 259–60, and *Blon po bka' thang* (*BK*): 437–38 (1997 reprint of 1986 edition). The catalogues in these two sources contain the clan name of the head of each thousand-district. Along with the army catalogue in *KhG*, they represent a single tradition, with *BK* differing only slightly in a few cases. Unfortunately, *Jo sras* and Nelpa Paṇḍita do not include the clan names of the heads of thousand-districts in their catalogues, which represent a slightly earlier tradition. For this reason *lDe'u* and *BK* must be relied upon in analysing clan territory.



Map: The regional principalities (*rje dpon tshan*) of post-imperial Tibet (map created using MapInfo. Locations are not precise)

that it comprises a larger area along the gTsang-po and its tributaries from old lHa-rtse downstream to Phun-tshogs-ling, corresponding generally to modern lHa-rtse county.

Uebach notes the identity of Mang-dkar with Mang-mkhar mDo-phug, another of the thirty-seven holy places of the Bon-po (UEBACH 1999: 265). The modern Mang-dkar Valley is located to the south of both old lHa-rtse and new lHa-rtse (Chu-shar), and is home to several meditation caves (DORJE 1999: 290). Khri-bom is mentioned in the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* as the location of the stronghold of the famous minister Khyung-po sPung-sad Zu-tse. It was from Khri-bom that Zu-tse planned his intrigues against Khri Srong-btsan (BACOT *et al.* 1940–1946: 101, 130). As Zu-tse's territory comprised rTsang-Bod, which he took after his defeat of the lord Mar-mun, his stronghold at Khri-bom would appear to assign a location to this elusive area. Since Khri-bom is paired in the army catalogue with the thousand-district of Mang-dkar, its location must be found in the vicinity of Mang-dkar, probably to the northwest. This would seem to be confirmed by Hazod's discussion of the tombs at Bom-ma in Ngam-ring county; for this and for a map of the proposed location of Khri-bom, see HAZOD 2009: 189–90, 206, 210.

Upper gTsang is included as a territory in *KhG*'s catalogue of the eighteen shares of power (*dbang-ris bco-brgyad*), where it is again treated as a territory of the 'Bro clan. It would thus appear that the Upper gTsang of the regional principalities and the Upper gTsang of the eighteen shares of power roughly correspond in geographic terms. Upper gTsang is also found in the catalogues of minor kingdoms. P1060 calls this land "Upper rTsang" (rTsang-stod), and this is seconded by IOL Tib J 734, which offers rTsang-shu-[m]tho. P1286, however, refers to the same territory as Myang-ro'i Pyed-kar, and P1285 presents a mixture of the two traditions with the name rTsang-ro dBye-kar.[42] None of these sources name the 'Bro as 'ministers' of this minor kingdom—these are the Sud-du and gNang. The minor

[42] The identity of these places is established by the fact that P1286, P1290, and P1060 agree on the clan names given for the 'ministers'. These are Suru and gNang, Su-du and gNang, and Su-dud and gNang, respectively. The catalogues are found in SPANIEN AND IMAEDA 1979: P1286: plates 554–55, ll. 7–24; P1290: plates 600–3, recto, ll. 3–7, verso, ll. 5–7; and P1060: plates 368–71, ll. 62–96. For P1285, see LALOU 1958.

kingdom, like the later regional principality, appears to have been under the jurisdiction of the same mountain god, gTsang-lha Bu-dar.[43] Bellezza has located this mountain approximately twenty kilometres southwest of Bzang-zang in modern Ngam-ring county (BELLEZZA 1997: 47). It can therefore be concluded that the geography of the regional principality of Upper gTsang corresponded roughly with the earlier imperial division of Upper Ru-lag, the territory of Upper gTsang listed in the catalogue of the eighteen shares of power, the minor kingdom of Upper rTsang/ Myang-ro'i Phyed-kar, and also overlapped to some extent with the territory of the ancient kingdom of gTsang-Bod.

The fact that the 'Bro clan are found in the same region of Upper gTsang in territorial catalogues of four separate periods from the early part of the Tibetan Empire to the time of the Revolt may necessitate a reconsideration of the long upheld and oft-repeated claims by Thomas, Demiéville and Richardson that the 'Bro clan were located generally in the northeast. Demiéville cites the *Xin Tangshu* (BUSHELL 1880: 523) as the source for his claim that the 'Bro clan were of Yangtong origin (DEMIÉVILLE 1952: 26, n. 9).[44] Demiéville also underlines some confusion concerning the location of this clan's thousand-districts, first citing Thomas' claim that they were in the northeast, and then Thomas' subsequent claim that they were located in gTsang in the west (DEMIÉVILLE 1952: 28, n. 9). Following Thomas again in a discussion of the location of Yangtong, Demiéville favors a location on the northern plateau (*byang-thang*) and then locates the 'Bro clan in the northeast of Tibet. Their proximity with China, Demiéville argues, explains their Sinophilic tendencies (DEMIÉVILLE 1952: 29, n. 9). Richardson writes of the 'Bro that they were "a people of uncertain racial composition and distribution, possibly connected with Zhang-zhung, a part of whom

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[43] IOL Tib J 734 identifies the god of this region as rTsang-lha Pu-dar, while P1060 and P1285 offer rTsang-la 'i Bye'u. Both gods are listed among the "nine brothers" in *lDe'u*, where rTsang-lha Bu-dar is considered the elder brother, and rTsang-lha Bye'u the younger (*lDe' u*: 230).

[44] Demiéville cites BUSHELL 1880: 523 [*sic* for 423], where the *Xin Tangshu* begins its account of the battle between Shangpipi and Shangk'ungje. Shangpipi's surname is given as Mulu ('Bro) and it is remarked that he was a native of the Yangtong country. Aside from the obvious problems with applying this man's birthplace to his entire clan, the statement that he was of Yangtong origin is extremely vague considering what is known about the location of this country.

were situated in historic times on the north-east frontier between Tibet and China" (RICHARDSON 1998 [1977]: 61). The crux of the problem with these scholars' statements concerning the location of the 'Bro clan appears to lie in the fact that they were over-ready, when faced with the association of the 'Bro with Zhang-zhung, to locate this clan in a particular part of this territory, namely the northeast.

Though the 'Bro are in fact associated with Zhang-zhung based on territorial catalogues, they are found not in the northeast of the country, but in the northwest. It is known from the sixth of the six institutions (*khos drug*), namely the 'three regiments of heroes' (*dpa'-sde gsum*), that the 'Bro were associated with Gug-cog. There the 'Bro, along with the Khyung-po, mGar, sNubs and gNyan clans, acted as leaders of the five districts of Gug-cog in the upper regiment of the three regiments of heroes. The army catalogue of *lDe'u* lists Gu[g]-cog among the five thousand-districts of Lower Zhang-zhung located on the borders of Tibet and Sum-pa: Gug-ge and Gu[g]-cog, sPyir-rtsang and Yar-rtsang, and the 'little thousand-district' (*stong-bu-chung*) sPyi-ti (*lDe'u*: 259). The same catalogue in *KhG* provides Gug-ge and Cog-la in the same position as Gu-ge and Gug-cog (*KhG*: 187–88). Though the location of the 'Bro clan in Gug-cog upholds their association with Zhang-zhung, it is with a specific part of Zhang-zhung in the northwest, and not the northeast. The date of this information is uncertain, as the full catalogue of the six institutions is made up of data concerning different periods of the Tibetan Empire. The inclusion of the mGar clan in this regiment, however, indicates that the three regiments of heroes, if genuine, likely dated to before the winter of 698 when the mGar clan was disgraced (BACOT *et al.* 1940–1946: 18, 39). Though this is only one early reference to the presence of the 'Bro clan in Zhang-zhung, it is but one of many, as demonstrated above in the résumé of the political geography of Upper gTsang, which links this clan to the northwest, a geographical association the 'Bro would retain even after the collapse of the empire.

The location of the 'Bro clan in Upper gTsang and western Tibet is supported to some extent by Pasang Wangdu's finds in Khrom-chen, lHa-rtse rdzong, of burial mounds that he considers to be those of the 'Bro clan (WANGDU 1994: 633).

The other clan located in the regional principality of Upper gTsang, the Cog-ro, seem not to have been so stationary as the ’Bro. The Cog-ro, along with the ’Bro, are associated with the western Tibetan dynasty of sKyid-lde Nyi-ma mGon (reigned 923–950 approx.).[45] Both clans were supporters of this royal lineage for generations, and according to the *Nyang ral chos ’byung*, Cog-ro bza’ rGyal-mo-legs bore dPal-’khor-btsan, the son of ’Od-srung (MEISEZAHL 1985: 483a). Both the Cog-ro and ’Bro clans, along with the Pa-tshab, later provided brides for sKyid-lde Nyi-ma mGon after his migration to western Tibet (VITALI 2003: 54). Petech follows Snellgrove in suggesting the possibility that “the creation of the West Tibetan kingdom was due to the initiative of the [’Bro] clan, which invited Skyid lde Nyi ma mgon to their country in order to give a cover of legitimacy to their local power” (PETECH 1997: 231).

In the eighteen shares of power, *lDe’u* lists the lCog ro in ’Dam-shod dkar-mo, where *KhG* lists the Phya and Rwa clans. This area likely corresponds to ’Dam-shod snar-mo, one of the holy sites of the Bon-po in Central Horn, which Uebach located “[In] the main valley of ’Dam in front of the Gnyan chen thang lha [range]” (UEBACH 1999: 262). In the army catalogues of *lDe’u* and *BK*, the Cog-ro commanded two thousand-districts in Upper Central Horn (dBu-ru) in central Tibet.[46] In a section of the catalogue of the six institutions that dates to the mid-seventh century, Cog-ro rGyal-mtshan g.Yang-gong is named as the administrative chief (*khos-dpon*) of mThong-khyabs (*KhG*: 185).[47] Rong Xinjiang, in a detailed study devoted to the mThong-khyab, equated them with the Tongjia tribe and demonstrated that the mThong-khyab people formed the vanguard of Tibet’s military force against the Chinese in the northeast (RONG 1990–91: 256). The association of the Cog-ro clan with the northeast is also attested by the entry for the ox year 713 in the *Annals of the ’A-zha Principality*, where the daughter of Cog-ro sTong-re Khong-zung is wed to Ma-ga-tho-gon Kha-gan, the ruler of the ’A-zha.[48] Her father, Cog-ro sTong-re, is then endowed with silver insignia (offered

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[45] See PETECH 1997: 32.

[46] *lDe’u*: gCong-pa and ’Bring-’tshams; *BK*: bCom-pa and Zom-steng. The former could be related to gCom-mdo, southwest of Rwa-steng.

[47] For Uray’s reading of this passage, see URAY 1972: 33.

[48] It appears that Ma-ga tho-gon Kha-gan is merely an epithet, and not a name (MOLÈ 1970: 74–75, n. 22).

a ministerial post) (YAMAGUCHI 1970: 73).[49] Further linking this clan with the east of Tibet, the *Old Tibetan Annals* records that a Cog-ro minister, Khri-gzigs gNang-kong, convened the winter council in mDo-smad in the years 711, from 721–724, and 727.

The 'Bro and Cog-ro clans were both extremely powerful during the imperial period. The 'Bro especially were known as maternal relatives (*zhang*) in relation to the royal line,[50] and according to the genealogy in P1286, the 'Bro mothered Khri Srong-btsan's great grandfather, 'Bro' mNyen-lde-ru, his great grandson, 'Dus-srong Mang-po-rje (676–704), and 'Dus-srong's great great grandsons, Khri gTsug-lde-brtsan Ral-pa-can (reigned 815–841) and 'U-'i Dum-brtan (reigned 841–842) (BACOT *et al.* 1940–1946: 82, 88–89). During the imperial period no Cog-ro lady bore a bTsan-po, and the clan was thus not entitled to the epithet *zhang*.[51] Unlike the geographical associations of the 'Bro clan, those of the Cog-ro are extremely disparate. They appear first with associations with eastern Tibet and the 'A-zha, then with thousand-districts in central Tibet, and finally as supporters of the dynasty in western Tibet.

Ru-mtshams gZhu-snye

The name of this regional principality, 'the Horn border gZhu-snye' (Ru-mtshams gZhu-snye) refers to this area's earlier role as the western border of Central Horn.[52] The region is usually known as gZhu sNye-mo, gZhu and sNye-mo each being side valleys located on tributaries of the gTsang-po on the gZhu-chu River and sNye-mo Ma-chu River, respectively, in modern sNye-mo county. The mountain god presiding over this principality, Kha-rag Khyung-btsun, may be identical to Kha-rag Gangs-rtse, which formed the western border of Left Horn.[53] A list from Klong-rdol bla-ma cited by Nebesky-Wojkowitz includes the goddess Kha-rag Khyung-btsun

[49] The dates referred to by this document are contested, and the alternate date for the above entry would be 642, but very few scholars besides Yamaguchi accept the earlier dates.

[50] On the scope and meaning of the term *zhang* in this context see Dotson 2004: 90–96. See also YAMAGUCHI 1992.

[51] For heir-bearing queens in the royal genealogy P1286 and their clans, see DOTSON 2004: 88–89.

[52] gZhu sNye-mo (*KhG*: 186). See also *lDe'u*: 172 and *Jo sras*: 111.

[53] *KhG*: 186. See also *lDe'u*: 172 and *Jo sras*: 111.

in the group of twelve bsTan-ma goddesses, her location being given as Ru-mtshams Jo-mo Kha-rag (NEBESKY-WOJKOWITZ 1998 [1956]: 184).[54] This mountain, which is twinned with the nearby Kha-rag Jo-bo, has been located in modern mKha'-reg by Sørensen and Hazod, who point out that it served as the traditional border of dBus and gTsang. They further state that "the core area of Kha-rag/ mKha'-reg is the side-valley and area south of gTsang-po towards Yar-'brog, but mKha'-reg also covered the area on the northern side of gTsang-po en route between present-day Chu-shul and sNye-mo".[55] The regional principality of Ru-mtshams gZhu-snye thus occupied both sides of the gTsang-po—the sNye-mo and gZhu valleys in modern sNye-mo county on the north side, and parts of modern Rin-spungs and sNa-dkar-rtse counties to the south. As mentioned above, no location can be offered at this time for the stronghold(s) of 'Brang-mkhar Bye-btsan.[56]

Of the two clans named in this *rje-dpon-tshan*, the sNang are far better attested than the Byang clan. One mention of the sNang clan in connection with the political organisation of imperial Tibet, however, is in *BK*, where sNang sTag Byu-ru-mtshal is named as the second-in-command of Upper Ru-lag. *KhG* and *lDe'u*, however, name a member of the gNam clan instead. If *BK*'s identification is correct, it associates the sNang clan with Upper gTsang, since, as demonstrated already, Upper gTsang overlaps with Upper Ru-lag.

In the catalogues of minor kingdoms, the gNang—an older orthography for sNang—are found in P1286, P1290, and P1060 as ministers of Myang-ro'i Phyed-kar/ Upper rTsang. It would thus appear that the gNang/sNang clan had early associations with Upper gTsang that were perhaps retained during the empire, and later associations to the east in modern sNye-mo and Rin-spungs counties.

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[54] The name Rong-mdo Kha-rag gZhu-gnyan-rtse also appears as a *bzhi-bdag* of gTsang in a *lha-bsang* text from the *Rin chen gter mdzod,* cited by the same author (NEBESKY-WOJKOWITZ 1998 [1956]: 228). Here gZhu-gnyan is evidently an error for gZhu-nye.

[55] Quoted from an excerpt of table seven in SØRENSEN and HAZOD 2007: 675.

[56] Along with Kha-rag Khyung-mkhar, a certain Che-brtsan Dregs-mkhar is mentioned as one of the "eighteen lesser castles for subduing the frontiers" in the *Kun 'bum khra 'o bzhugs pa'i dbu phyogs*, a 12th or early 13th century work contained in the Bon-po bKa'-'gyur (RAMBLE 1999: 9–10). This may or may not correspond to 'Brang-mkhar Bye-btsan, however, and gives no clues as to its precise location. On the location of 'Brang more generally see SØRENSEN and HAZOD 2007: 675.

'Phan-yul Za-gad

'Phan-yul is a famous area to the north of Lhasa. As is well known from chapter four of the *Old Tibetan Chronicle*, after emperor gNam-ri Slon-mtshan and the combined forces of the Myang, dBa's, gNon and Tshes-pong clans conquered Ngas-po, Slon-mtshan changed the name of this territory to 'Phan-yul. Za-gad was a territory in Ngas-po belonging to gShen Khri-bzher 'Dron-kong, who served as minister of the interior (*nang-blon*) under Zing-po-rje Khri Pang-sum, the lord of Ngas-po. It was this man, gShen Khri-bzher 'Dron-kong, who in chapter three of the *Chronicle* killed dBa's bShos-to-re Khru-gu, an action that led eventually to dBa's dByi-tshab's defection to sPu-rgyal, presumably along with a good deal of the dBa's clan (BACOT *et al.* 1940–1946: 103, 134). After the fall of Zing-po-rje Khri Pang-sum, emperor gNam-ri Slon-mtshan fittingly gave dBa's dByi-tshab the land of Za-gad, the territory of his old oppressor (MACDONALD 1971: 232). Za-gad seems not to have survived as a place name in the vicinity of 'Phan-yul, but Hazod suggests that Za-gad may be a contraction of the names of two neighbouring places in western 'Phan-yul: Za-dam and Gad-po (HAZOD 2009: 195 and HAZOD *forthcoming*). Neither 'Phan-yul nor Za-gad are found as thousand-districts, but both are listed in the catalogues of administrative districts (*yul-dpon-tshan/ yul-sde*) in Central Horn (*lDe'u*: 257).[57] Though the strongholds Zwa and Dom-pa remain unidentified, naturally they must be sought in the region around 'Phan-yul to the north of Lhasa. The mountain god of this regional principality, Thang-lha Ya-bzhur, better known as gNyan-chen Thang-lha, is of course one of the most famous mountain deities of Tibet, and was as intimately connected with the royal line as Yar-lha Sham-po.

The association of the sGro and rMa clans here is interesting considering what we already know about the territorial associations of the 'Bro/sGro clan, and concerning Slon-mtshan's grant of Za-gad to the dBa's clan. In addition to their strong associations with Upper gTsang, the 'Bro clan are also found to a lesser extent in central Tibet. In the catalogue of eighteen shares of power, *KhG* lists the sGro and rMa clans in connection with 'Phan-yul thousand-district,

[57] *GK* lists only 'Phan-yul in its corresponding catalogue of *yul-sde* (*GK*: 185). For a discussion of "administrative districts" (*yul-dpon-tshan)*, see UEBACH 1994.

thus demonstrating their connection to this territory centuries prior to the establishment of the regional principalities. The same catalogue also upholds the rights granted to the dBa's/sBas clan, listing Za [Zha]-gad sde-gsum as the territory of the sBas minister, a point that further supports this catalogue's claim to antiquity.

The association of the sGro and rMa clans with 'Phan-yul thousand-district would appear to be in direct conflict with the inscription of the Zhol pillar (c. 764), which recounts grants made to the minister Ngan-lam sTag-sgra Klu-khong. Among these grants was the hereditary right of his male descendants to the post of the head of thousand-district (*stong-dpon*) of the 'royal guard thousand-district' (*sku-srung stong-sde*) of 'Phan-yul (RICHARDSON 1985: 20–23).[58] This may indicate that the region changed hands from the sGro and rMa clans to Ngan-lam sTag-sgra Klu-khong and his descendants, only to be reclaimed again later by the sGro and rMa. On the other hand, it is not unlikely that there existed two thousand-districts within the broad territory of 'Phan-yul: that of the sGro and rMa in Za-gad (Za-dam and Gad-po), and the bodyguard thousand-district of the Ngan-lam clan located to the northeast of Gad-po in the region of Ngan-lam.[59]

The only other mention of the rMa clan in the various catalogues is in the army catalogues of *BK* and *lDe'u*, which place the rMa in Lower Central Horn as leaders of the thousand-district of Dor-de/Dor-ste, but this has not been definitively located (HAZOD 2009: 200).

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[58] In fact, the grants were made to gSas-slebs, Klu-khong's grandfather. It was common for land grants, ennoblements, and gifts of ministerial office to be given retroactively, that is, projected back one or two generations. Thus in the Zhol edict the bTsan-po ennobled not only sTag-sgra Klu-khong, but all those in his paternal lineage beginning with his grandfather, gSas-slebs. This functioned to include a larger group of kinsmen, and this practice is found also in the inscriptions at Zhwa'i lHa-khang, where favours were bestowed not only on Myang Ting-nge-'dzin, but on the descendants of his grandfather, sNang-bzang 'Dus-kong (RICHARDSON 1985: 50–51). The same sort of retroactive grant can probably be found also in the Lcang-bu inscription, which, though ostensibly rewarding Tshes-pong Nya-sto, is formally granted to the descendants of Zhang Tshes-pong gSas-sto, who we might assume to be Nya-sto's father or grandfather (RICHARDSON 1985: 102–103). None of the army catalogues list 'Phan-yul as a thousand-district, so this edict may also provide a location (and clan affiliation) for the royal guard regiment of Central Horn (URAY 1960: 33).

[59] I am indebted to Guntram Hazod for suggesting this intriguing possibility.

Yar-lung stod

Upper Yar-lung, due to its associations with the Tibetan royal lineage, is one of the most well known areas in all of Tibet. The region of Yar-lung is found in the catalogues of thousand-districts, and Yar-lung Sogs-kha is named as one of the eighteen shares of power. The minor kingdom of Yar-lung Sogs-dkar/ Yar-khyim Sogs-yar is found in the catalogues of P1285 and IOL Tib J 734, respectively.[60] The regional principality is presided over by Yar-lha Sham-po, the tutelary divinity (*sku-bla)* of the Tibetan royal lineage. Hazod identified the strongholds at sNa-mo Yar-rtse and [sNa-mo] Mar-rtse) generally with the region of Tshe-spong in Yar-stod (GYALBO *et al.* 2000: 200–201). The two clans of the regional principality of Upper Yar-lung, the mChims and gNyags, are each very well known and are found in several catalogues.

In the army catalogue of *BK* the mChims clan commands the thousand-districts of gNyal and of Dwags-po, while *lDe'u* places them in Nyag-nyi. Both sources, along with *KhG*, agree that a member of the mChims clan served as general of Lower Left Horn. *KhG* and *lDe'u* also name a mChims clansman as second-in-command in Lower Ru-lag, where *BK* names a member of the Khyung-po clan. Dwags-po and Nyag-nyi are well-attested areas located very near to each other and also in close proximity to the pre-imperial minor kingdom of mChims-yul, which might be considered as grounds for supporting *BK*'s claim that the mChims clan held Dwags-po.[61] dNyal/ dMyal, on the other hand, corresponds to the gNyal Valley in modern lHun-rtse county (GYALBO *et al.* 2000: 240).

The mChims are listed neither in the catalogue of the eighteen shares of power nor as ministers of any minor kingdom, but the ancestral home of the mChims clan most likely corresponds to the pre-imperial minor kingdom of mChims gyi dGu'-yul, located between Dags-po and Kong-po on both sides of the gTsang-po (WANGDU and DIEMBERGER 2000: 102, n. 418). The core location of the ancestral mChims lands has been established by Pasang Wangdu

[60] See LALOU 1958. The catalogue of minor kingdoms in IOL Tib J 734 is found in *AFL*, part IV, ll. 291–350.

[61] Uray has already treated the location of Nyag-nyi in URAY 1988. Yamaguchi maintains that Nyag-nyi appears in the older sources not as a toponym, but as an epithet that may have later become a place name (YAMAGUCHI 1992: 77–79, n. 29).

and by Guntram Hazod, who, independently of each other, identified Sleb shang in sKyem-stong as the tomb field of this clan (HAZOD 2006; WANGDU 2009). In the various other catalogues of territory the mChims clan are recorded more often than not in the vicinity of their ancestral homeland of mChims-yul. The mChims are among the "ancient relatives of the four borders" (*gna' gnyen mtha' bzhi*) found in a fragment at the beginning of P1286 (RICHARDSON 1998 [1969]: 28–29). Through their later blood relationship with the royal line they obtained the epithet *zhang*: according to the genealogy of P1286, mChims ladies mothered Khri Srong-btsan's grandfather, sTag-bu sNya-gzigs, and Khri lDe-gtsug-brtsan (704–c.755), the father of Khri Srong-lde-btsan (742–c.800) (BACOT *et al.*1940–1946: 82, 88–89). A woman of the mChims clan also mothered Chos-kyi Smon-lam (1169–1233), head of the g.Ya-bzang-pa Myriarchy (GYALBO *et al.* 2000: 18).

It appears from the inclusion of the mChims clan in the regional principality of Upper Yar-lung that the mChims may have gradually migrated westward.

The other clan listed in the regional principality of Yar-lungs, the gNyags, is again associated with Yar-lung in the catalogues of thousand-districts in *lDe'u* and *BK*, where the gNyags clan command Yar-lung thousand-district. In the catalogue of the eighteen shares of power, the gNyags clan appear again in Yar-lung Sogs-kha, this time paired with the Khu clan. The gNyags are thus associated with the heartland of the Tibetan Empire in catalogues from three separate periods. In addition, Macdonald has suggested that gNyags is a variant of the more ancient form, rNgegs (MACDONALD 1971: 228, n. 148), and it is known from the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* and from P1038 that the rNgegs maintained a close connection to the royal line from its very inception.[62] One of the minor kingdoms listed in P1286,

[62] According to one theory in P1038, a text containing three theories concerning the bTsan-po's origin, the first Tibetan bTsan-po came from the sky gods to rule the earth, and was accompanied by the ministers lHo and rNgegs, the *bon-po* Tshe and gCo and the 'intendants' (*phyag-tshang*) Sha and sPug (P1038, ll. 13–17). In the succession of chief ministers that comprises the second chapter of the *Old Tibetan Chronicle*, two men of the rNgegs clan served as chief ministers during the very early part of the Yarlung Kingdom (BACOT *et al.* 1940–1946: 100, 128–29). Macdonald gives no linguistic argument for her suggestion that rNgegs became gNyags. Benedict has demonstrated a *ng* to *ny* sound change from Proto-Tibetan to Written Tibetan (Benedict 1939: 228, n. 26), but to verify Macdonald's suggestion, it

rNgegs-yul-kyi Gru-bzhi, may represent the ancestral territory of this clan, which was likely located just west of mChims-yul (HAZOD 2009: 171, 173, 176).

gTam-shul lHo-brag

The regional principality of gTam-shul lHo-brag is composed of two rather well-known areas, gTam-shul and lHo-brag. The latter is found in the catalogues of thousand-districts, while the former is counted as an administrative district (*yul-dpon-tshan/ yul-sde*). Neither toponym is found in the catalogue of the eighteen shares of power, but a territory called gTam-shul Gung-dang is named in P1285.[63] The regional principality of gTam-shul lHo-brag may be roughly located in modern lHo-brag and mTsho-smad counties on the gTam-shul River southwest of Lake Gri-gu mtsho. The gods associated with this territory, the nine gTam-lha men (gTam-lha pho-dgu), along with the stronghold(s) of Bya-tshang Gung-snang, remain unidentified. The clans associated with this *rje-dpon-tshan*, sNyi-ba and Shud-pu, are not particularly well known, and *KhG*'s sNye-ba would seem to be an error for sNyi-ba, which is found in both *lDe'u* and *Jo sras*.

In the army catalogue of *lDe'u*, the sNyi-ba clan is associated with both dMyal and lHo-brag, while *BK* places them only in lHo-brag, naming the mChims clan as leaders of gNyal thousand-district. As mentioned above, dMyal may be identical with the gNyal Valley in modern lHun-rtse County (GYALBO *et al.* 2000: 240). The *rNyi ba'i lo rgyus* associates the clan with gNyal from the pre-imperial period (SØRENSEN and DOLMA 2007: 192) and Hazod suggests that a large grave field in central gNyan may be that of the sNyi-ba/rNyi-ba clan (HAZOD 2009: 192). The sNyi-ba clan are not mentioned in connection with any minor kingdom, and do not appear in *KhG*'s catalogue of the eighteen shares of power.

The only unambiguous mention of the Shud-bu clan in the various catalogues is in the later army catalogue, which names Shud-pu Khu-

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would be useful to supply examples of the same sound change from Old Tibetan to Classical Tibetan.

[63] Found at the beginning of section viii. The document actually contains several catalogues that seem to be presented in a disjointed order, a matter discussed in DOTSON 2008. In addition, P1060 includes the minor kingdom of lHo-ga Lang-drug, but this does not necessarily correspond to lHo-brag.

ring Khong-btsan as second-in-command (*dpa'-zla/ ru-sgab*) of Lower Central Horn (*lDe'u*: 261; *BK*: 439; and *KhG*: 188). Another member of this clan was Shud-phu dPal-gyi seng-ge, a religious minister (*chos-blon*) of Khri Srong-lde-btsan. Also known as Khri-'gring thog-btsan Shud-phu Khong-leb (*ShB*: 646, ll. 2–3), he is listed in the *dBa' bzhed* as one of the Tibetans who succeeded in learning Sanskrit at the time of the consecration of bSam-yas Monastery (WANGDU and DIEMBERGER 2000: 70). Wylie noted that the *Vaidurya ser po* traces the Shud-bu clan's influence in lHo-brag to this figure (WYLIE 1962: 173, n. 544). Whether this was actually the case or not, *ShB* states that it was one of the descendants of the illustrious Shud-phu dPal-gyi seng-ge, namely Shud-phu Zla-ba seng-ge, who was invited by the mountain deity gTam-lha Pho-dgu to rule lHo-brag at the time of the regional pricipalities (*ShB*: 648, ll. 4–5).

The Shud-bu clan's connections with the area of lHo-brag may go back even further, however, to the time of sTag-bu sNya-zigs, the grandfather of Srong-btsan sGam-po. Shud-bu Nga-myi appears in the *Chronicle Fragment* P1144 as the minister (*gung-blon*) of sTag-bu sNya-gzigs when sTag-bu was captured and imprisoned by Klu-dur, the king of lHo-brag (P1144, recto: l. 2). The succession of chief ministers in chapter two of the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* also names Shud-pu rGyal-to-re Nga-myi as the Tibet's twelfth chief minister (BACOT *et al.*1940–1946: 100, 129).[64]

[64] It is fascinating in this context that Shud-bu Nga-myi is the last of the twelve 'sacred ministers' in the genealogy: "Up to and including this minister, the ministers were endowed with magical power (*'phrul*). They were sagacious and disciplined and their wisdom was without measure. No men have been born [since] who measure up to them." (*'dI yan chad kyi blon po 'phrul dang ldan te / ltag brnyan dang 'dom / ste / / 'dzangs kyang tshad myed do / / myI de lte bu ma skyes pa tsam gyi tshod do*) (P1287: ll. 73–74). As with the royal genealogy in P1286, where the earthly queens of the Tibetan rulers only begin to be recorded six generations back from Srong-btsan sGam-po (DOTSON 2004: 87), this movement from 'sacred ministers' to 'earthly ministers' indicates a passage into history and genealogical memory. It is noteworthy that in the latter case this corresponds to the reign of Srong-btsan sGam-po's grandfather, sTag-bu sNya-gzigs.

'Chos/ 'Phyos

The regional principality of 'Chos/ 'Phyos most likely corresponds to the modern territory of the 'Phyos Valley located on a tributary to the 'Phyong-rgyas River to the northwest of 'Phying-ba ('Phyong-rgyas). The region of 'Phying-ba appears in numerous territorial catalogues: the army catalogues record the thousand-district of 'Phying-lung/ 'Ching-lung, and there was also an administrative district (*yul-dpon-tshan*) of the same name, each of which were located on the 'Phyong-rgyas River in an excellent map of Left Horn produced by Gyalbo, Hazod and Sørensen (GYALBO *et al.* 2000: 239–40; cf. HAZOD 2009: 202–203). The area is found again in *KhG*'s catalogue of the eighteen shares of power as part of the territory of 'Ching-nga 'Ching-yul, found in the corresponding catalogue of *lDe'u* as 'Phying-nga sTag-rtse.

'Phying-ba is perhaps most famous as the location of the royal burial ground, and it is mentioned in this sense in the first full entry of the *Old Tibetan Annals*. 'Phying-ba sTag-rtse is also the renowned residence of the Tibetan kings, and is named in the introductory lines to chapter three of the *Chronicle* as the residence of sTag-bu sNya-gzigs, the grandfather of Khri Srong-btsan (Srong-btsan sGam-po).

The stronghold(s) of this regional principality, Phu-gud Co-mkhar, along with the god of the region, 'Chos-lha dKon-pa, remain unidentified. The Khu and gNyags clans had a strong association with each other,[65] being paired together not only in the regional principality of 'Chos, but also directly to the east, in Yar-lung Sogs-kha in the catalogue of the eighteen shares of power. They are also paired as two of the thirteen clans of Yar-lung who invited Sorna-badzra as ruler in the second half of the 11th century (GYALBO *et al.* 2000: 27). The Khu clan, however, are not found in the catalogues of thousand-districts, nor are they found as ministers of any minor kingdom. The territorial affiliations of the gNyags clan have already been given above, so it will suffice to mention that 'Phyong-rgyas is associated with the gNyags clan not only through the catalogue of

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[65] This pair is also found in the 15th century *bShad mdzod yid bzhin nor bu*, in which the Se and rMu, Khu and sNyags, and lDong and sTong make up the "six lineages of the centre" (*bar khams rus rigs drug*). See Smith 2003: 219.

regional principalities, but also as the birthplace of the famous translator gNyags Jñanakumara (DUNG DKAR 2002: 933).

Though the lists in *Jo sras* and *lDe'u* appear corrupt, it is worth considering their agreement that the clans of this regional principality were Tshe and Shud/ Bud. The Shud-[bu] have been discussed already in the context of gTam-shul lHo-brag. Tshe apparently stands for the Tshe-spong clan (GYALBO *et al.* 2000: 199), who are also associated territorially with the 'Phyong-rgyas region. Of the four clans that aligned themselves with sTag-bu sNya-gzigs and gNam-ri Slon-mtshan against Zing-po-rje Khri-pang-sum, the Tshes-pong are listed fourth and described as 'the messenger' (*p[h]rin*) between the conspirators of the Myang, dBa's and mNon clans and the Yar-lung king. In the list of grants following the defeat of Zing-po-rje the Tshes-pong receive the smallest reward: "three hundred families of serfs from sMon-mkhar in 'On" (BACOT *et al.* 1940–1946: 106, 139). This area may not represent this clan's ancestral homeland, but simply be a gift from the ruler.

The Tshe-spong/ Tshe-pong appear already to have been subjects of the Yar-lung kings at this point (URAY 1967: 499), and according to the genealogy in P1286, a lady of this clan, Tshes-pong za 'Bring-ma thog-dgos, married gNam-ri Slon-mtshan and gave birth to Khri Srong-btsan (DOTSON 2004, 88; BACOT *et al.* 1940–1946: 82, 88). Like the 'Bro, mChims and sNa-nam clans, the Tshe-spong clan were privy to the epithet *zhang* in relation to the Tibetan royal line. A Tshes-pong lady mothered Khri Srong-btsan, and the genealogy in P1286 names Tshes-pong za rMa-rgyal lDong-skar as wife of Khri Srong-lde-brtsan and mother of Mu-ne brTsan-[po] and [Khri] lDe-srong-btsan (BACOT *et al.* 1940–1946: 82, 89). *lDe'u*, *Jo sras*, and *KhG* also name a Tshe-spong lady as the junior queen of 'U 'i-dum-brtan and mother of 'Od-srung (PETECH 1994: 650), but the history surrounding this succession is perhaps too murky to accept this claim at face value.

In the list of eighteen shares of power in *KhG*, the Tshe-spong are listed as leaders of upper and lower Brag-rum. This area appears in *lDe'u* as an administrative district (*yul-dpon-tshan*) of Central Horn, and may correspond to the area of sTag-brag to the west of Lhasa

(HAZOD 2003).[66] In the catalogues of thousand-districts the Tshe-spong clan command ’Ching-lung/ ’Phying-lung, just southeast of ’Phyos.

RÉSUMÉ OF HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY

To conclude this foray into historical geography via an analysis of the data contained in the catalogue of regional principalities, it should be stated frankly that the present study has used only very limited sources. A more exhaustive inquiry would uncover more data on clan territory in the imperial period by investigating ministerial posts held by clan members, the marital relations of certain clans not only with the royal line, but also with other aristocratic clans, and by taking stock of local histories, clan histories, and hagiographies (*rnam-thar*). That being said, however, if the premises of this brief survey of historical geography are to be accepted, namely that Tibetan catalogues of principalities constitute reliable historical sources provided that they are read with an eye to their schematic and formulaic nature, then it can be stated that the inquiry has borne fruit.

It was concluded that the geography of the regional principality of Upper gTsang corresponds roughly with the earlier imperial division of Upper Ru-lag, and is probably identical with the territory of Upper gTsang listed in the catalogue of the eighteen shares of power, a catalogue that evidently predates the army catalogue. Further, the same territory overlaps with the minor kingdom of Upper rTsang/ Myang-ro’i Phyed-kar, and also overlaps to some extent with the territory of the ancient kingdom of gTsang-Bod conquered by Khyung-po sPung-sad Zu-tse. It was demonstrated that the ’Bro clan maintained connections with Upper gTsang over this entire period, and argued that if the ’Bro are to be associated with Zhang-zhung, it is with the area surrounding Gu-ge, and not with eastern Tibet or on the borders with China as Thomas, Demiéville, and Richardson had separately claimed.

Aside from the association of the ’Bro clan with Upper gTsang, clan associations with a particular territory are evident in other cases

[66] There is also a *yul-dpon-tshan* in Left Horn called Brag-lung, the location of which is uncertain.

as well. Such is the case with the mChims clan in Yar-lung and the gNyags clan in Yar-lung and ’Phyong-rgyas. Corroborated associations have also been made concerning the presence of the Khu clan in Yar-lung and ’Phyong-rgyas, the rMa clan in ’Phan-yul, the Tshe-spong clan in ’Phyong-rgyas and ’Phyos, and the sNyi-ba clan in lHo-brag. More generally, the gNang clan can be associated first with Upper gTsang, and later with modern sNye-mo and Rin-spungs counties. The data concerning the Cog-ro clan, however, could hardly be more disparate, as they are found first in the east near the ’A-zha, then in central Tibet, and finally in western Tibet in the post-imperial period.

Beyond their interest to specialists, the associations of individual clans with particular territories, spanning from the pre-imperial period of minor kingdoms through to the end of the empire, contributes to the debate concerning the social structure of the Tibetan Empire. In particular, if the catalogues of minor kingdoms are to be read as catalogues of pre-imperial territory that contain somewhat reliable data on clan territory, and if the proposed dating of the army catalogue contained in *lDe’u*, *BK* and *KhG* is to be accepted, then it must be stated that on the basis of this survey, brief though it is, state-imposed land legislations such as the institution of thousand-districts of the Tibetan Empire, though ostensibly militating against clan territory by introducing new imperial divisions of territory, seem to have functioned in practice to preserve clan territory in their structures. The extent and degree to which this was the case will be established only with more in-depth research.

CONCLUSIONS

The preceding paper considered four extant versions of the narrative of regional principalities and the catalogues of regional principalities both in relation to narrative and historical geography. The most complete version, found in *KhG*, and two other versions found in *lDe’u* and *Jo sras* stem from the non-extant *Lo rgyus chen mo* of Khu-ston brTson-’grus g.yung-drung (1011–1075). A fourth version, found in the Collected Works (*gSung ’bum*) of Shud-phu gNam-mkha’ rgyal-mtshan (1326–1401) contains an incomplete version that may stem from a different source. It was demonstrated that the

narrative of regional principalities, though located generally within the larger narrative of the dissolution of the Tibetan Empire and the Revolt (*kheng-log*), is less an extension of the Revolt than its resolution, as wholesale destruction gave way to the (re)constitution of small decentralised polities. The regional principalities were a short-lived structure in the post-imperial social and political landscape, and we read in the genealogies of the 'Od-srung and Yum-brtan lineages that descendants of the royal line soon ruled several of these areas (SØRENSEN 1994: 440–44, 451–60). Later, these same clans and rulers that comprised the regional principalities acted as benefactors supporting Buddhism's 'rise from the ashes'.

The phenomenon of the creation of the regional principalities 'at the behest' of each local mountain god echoes much of the work devoted to local cults of mountain deities over the past fifteen years.[67] The role of the mountain as guarantor of the status quo and arbiter of both political power and ritual prerogative is readily apparent in the narrative.

In the context of other territorial catalogues, the catalogues of regional principalities most closely resemble the catalogues of minor kingdoms in both their schematic structure and their placement within a mythical narrative. Concerning the content of the catalogues, it was demonstrated that it represented an unsuccessful attempt to stretch six regional principalities into a schematic structure of nine, most likely reflecting a connection with the nine 'brother' mountain deities of Tibet. The positive identification of such structural schematics permits a reading of the catalogue for its contents, particularly in relation to historical geography and clan territory. In this respect, the catalogue of regional principalities was compared with the catalogues of minor kingdoms, the catalogue of the eighteen shares of power, and the army catalogue of thousand-districts. The latter, in the tradition preserved in *KhG* and *lDe'u*, was dated to between 758 and 764, while it was argued that the catalogue of the eighteen shares of power predated this, most likely representing a mid-to-late-seventh-century arrangement of territory. While the structure and genesis of the imperial catalogues of territory (mainly the catalogues of thousand-districts and the eighteen shares of power)

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[67] See in particular KARMAY 1998 [1996], GINGRICH 1996, SAGANT 1990, POMMARET 1996 and STEINMANN 1996.

was not discussed, the mythopoeic and schematic elements of the catalogues of pre-imperial minor kingdoms were considered in relation to the catalogue of regional principalities.

Further inquiries into clan territory will soon be obliged to treat more important issues concerning clan territory and clan history such as social stratification within clans, the kinship systems of imperial Tibet, and the extent to which clans acted as corporate, unified entities within the Tibetan Empire.

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Jo sras: *LDE'U JO-SRAS*; *Chos 'byung chen mo bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan*, Chos 'dzoms, (ed.) Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang, 1987.

KhG: DPA'-BO GTSUG-LAG PHRENG-BA; *Dam pa'i chos kyi 'khor lo bsgyur ba rnams kyi byung ba gsal bar byed pa mkhas pa'i dga' ston,* Beijing: *Mi rigs dpe skrun khang*, 1985.
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OLD TIBETAN BUDDHIST TEXTS FROM THE POST-TIBETAN IMPERIAL PERIOD (MID-9TH C. TO LATE 10TH C.)[1]

TSUGUHITO TAKEUCHI (KOBE)

Since Géza Uray's paper (URAY 1981) and subsequent studies,[2] it has been recognised that the Tibetan language and script continued to be used by non-Tibetans even after the end of the Tibetan domination over Central Asia. In my previous paper read at the 8th IATS (Bloomington, 1998) and its revised version given at the Turfan symposium (Berlin, 2002, published as TAKEUCHI 2004), I identified fifty-seven Old Tibetan texts belonging to the post-Tibetan Imperial period, and discussed the sociolinguistic background behind the use of Tibetan by non-Tibetans. In these papers, however, I dealt mainly with secular documents, and only touched on Buddhist texts.

Besides the fact that I am ignorant of Buddhist studies, the Merkmals I used are primarily applicable for dating historical texts, for example:

1) The presence of particular titles and seals, namely, Chinese titles (e.g., *leng-kong* < *linggong* 令公, *zhang-zhu* < *shangshu* 尚書, *ha-se tser-to thyen-the'i-won* < *hexi jiedu tiandawang* 河西節度天大王, *the'i-pou* < *taibao* 太保, *sing-thung* < *sengtong* 僧統, *am-'gra* < *yaya* 押衙), Uighur titles (e.g., *tang-ri-hve-hur kha-gan* < Tängri Uighur Kaghan), Khotanese titles (e.g., *li-rje* 'Khotanese king'), red square seals with Chinese inscriptions (e.g., 帰義軍印 Seal of Guiyijun, 粛州之印 Seal of Suzhou, 河西道観察使印 Seal of the Imperial Commissary supervising the Hexi Region),[3] and

2) Distinctive letter formulæ, namely, letter type 3 with greeting pattern 2 (TAKEUCHI 1986 and 1990).

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[2] E.g. URAY 1988, TAKEUCHI 1986 and 1990.

[3] See MORIYASU 2000 for the seals.

These two kinds of Merkmals mainly apply to the non-Buddhist texts. Then there is a palæographical Merkmal, namely, most of the post-Tibetan period texts so far identified are written in a semi-cursive style peculiar to the post-Tibetan Empire period, which we may call the post-Imperial style.[4]

Palæography can be applied to Buddhist texts as well. Having familiarised myself with this writing style, I begin to feel that I can identify the post-Tibetan Empire texts based on writing style with fair certainty. However, due to lack of rigorous palæographical analysis, such as measuring the angle of writing, I hesitate to date texts via this criterion alone.

Recently, having gone through Buddhist texts—not into their contents but into their materiality—I have come to realise that many more texts may belong to the post-Tibetan period. The identification can be made by the combination of palæography and other Merkmals. The peculiar writing style provides the first clue for identification, but the identification is reinforced by other features, such as:

a) colophon to date the text (e.g., P 849), b) book-form or codex, which probably started from late-9th century or later, c) Khotanese elements, which I will discuss in the following section, d) the *dhāraṇī oṃ maṇi padme hūṃ*, which probably started to be used in the 10th century,[5] e) dated texts on the recto side, which limit the earliest possible date of the verso texts (e.g., P 44), and f) block printing, which dates the text to after the 13th century (e.g., IOL Tib J 502).

Since this panel is dedicated to the memory of Professor Emmerick, I wish to take up some Khotanese elements in the present paper. It is well known that in the Stein Collection there exist seven Tibetan Buddhist texts in *poṭhi* format with Khotanese folio numbers in Tibetan transcription, sometimes in combination with Tibetan letter-numerals.[6] Mauro Maggi discussed their Khotanese features,

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4 For example, see Plate 1. Note that Old Tibetan features, such as inverted *gi-gu*, *ya-btags* for bilabials+ i/e, and *da-drag,* do not serve as Merkmals since they were used in both the imperial period and the post-imperial period.

5 See also IMAEDA 1979.

6 Ch. 73. III. 5. (IOL Tib J 340), Ch. 73. III. 10. a. (IOL Tib J 553), Ch. 73. III. 11. (IOL Tib J 424), Ch. 73. III. 12. (IOL Tib J 423), Ch. 73. III. 13. (IOL Tib J 425), Ch. 73. III. 14. (IOL Tib J 338), Ch. 73. XV. frag.11. (IOL Tib J 336).

and rightly pointed out that the Khotanese pagination is likely to have been adopted by Khotanese copyists or users of the Tibetan texts. He also confirmed that the Khotanese numerals in Tibetan transcription reflected the colloquial Late Khotanese forms (MAGGI 1995).

Although Maggi did not date the texts, historical considerations leave us in little doubt that they should be dated to the 10th century, when Khotan and Dunhuang had close relations because of the marriages between the Chinese rulers of Dunhuang (Cao-shi Gui-yi-jun) and the Khotanese royal family (Viśa dynasty), and many Khotanese Buddhist pilgrims visited the Dunhuang caves. These were used to make offerings of Buddhist sūtras and texts to the caves and temples. Also, many Khotanese were long-term Dunhuang residents, who produced Khotanese and Tibetan Buddhist sūtras and texts.

Thus, the Tibetan Buddhist texts with Khotanese pagination are most likely to have been written in the 10th century by Khotanese Buddhists either in Khotan or in Dunhuang.

Another interesting example of Khotanese elements is a petition written in Tibetan but in Khotanese transcription. It was written by a Khotanese pilgrim visiting the Dunhuang caves.[7] In the text, he claims to have a poor command of Tibetan, but nevertheless he was able to write Tibetan in Khotanese script. And the *slob-dpon* or *ācārya*, the high priest in Dunhuang the petition was addressed to, was no doubt well versed in Tibetan.

Khotanese elements may also be found in the later copy of the well-known "Prophecy of the Arhat of Khotan" (IOL Tib 597) and its Chinese translation by 'Go chos-grub (Pelliot chinois 2139).[8]

These texts suggest that not only the Tibetan language but also Tibetan Buddhism was alive among the Khotanese in Dunhuang and probably in Khotan as well in the 10th century.

Before moving to the next topic, let me just remind you that although the Tibetan texts with Khotanese elements found from Dunhuang date to the 10th century, many Tibeto-Khotanese texts found from the Khotan area, especially Mazâr Tâgh, date to the

7 P 2782. Cf. BAILEY 1973, and KANEKO 1973.

8 IOL Tib J 598, from which IOL Tib J 597 was apparently copied, probably belongs to the Tibetan period, but the palæography of the latter text clearly points to the post-Tibetan period. This text and the Chinese translation may be dated to the late 9th century. Cf. UEYAMA 1990: 182–86.

period of the Tibetan domination of Khotan, namely 790–*c*. 850. In other words, there are two kinds of Tibeto-Khotanese texts in terms of provenance and date, namely the texts from the Khotan area dated to the period of Tibetan domination of Khotan and those from Dunhuang dated to the period of Guiyijun and the Viśa Dynasty (10th century).

As we do not have space to delve into other Merkmals, let me show you a list of Buddhist texts that are considered to belong to the post-imperial period.

Table 1: Selected list of texts from the post-imperial period (figures in column 2 denote 'IOL Tib J' numbers)

Ch. 0020.	339	Tantric
Ch. 0029.	418	Tantric
Ch. 04.	76	sūtra / Tantric
Ch. 07.	568	Tantric
Ch. 08.	597	vyākaraṇa
Ch. 09.	82	sūtra
Ch. 2. B.	161	sūtra
Ch. 2a. G.	603	sūtra
Ch. 51. I. 30.	78	sūtra / Tantric
Ch. 73. III. 2.	377	Tantric
Ch. 73. III. 5.	340	Tantric
Ch. 73. III. 6.	407	Tantric
Ch. 73. III. 8.	321	Tantric
Ch. 73. III. 9.	552	Tantric
Ch. 73. III. 10. a.	553	Tantric
Ch. 73. III. 10. b.	554	Tantric
Ch. 73. III. 11.	424	Tantric
Ch. 73. III. 12.	423	Tantric
Ch. 73. III. 12.	726	Tantric
Ch. 73. III. 13.	425	Tantric
Ch. 73. III. 14.	338	Tantric
Ch. 73. III. 15.	318	Tantric
Ch. 73. III. 16.	332	Tantric
Ch. 73. III. 17–18.	331	Tantric
Ch. 73. III. 17a.	346	Tantric
Ch. 73. III. 19.	437	Tantric
Ch. 73. III. 24.	341	Tantric
Ch. 73. III. 25.	358	Tantric
Ch. 73. III. 27.	349	Tantric
Ch. 73. III. 32.	501	Tantric

Ch. 73. III. 33.	342	Tantric
Ch. 73. III. 37.	437	Tantric
Ch. 73. III. 38.	567	Tantric
Ch. 73. III. 43.	773	unidentified
Ch. 73. III. 44.	248	confession
Ch. 73. III. frag. 42, frag. 43	728	story
Ch. 73. VII. frag. B. 8.	540	Tantric
Ch. 73. VIII. 19.	437	Tantric
Ch. 73. XIII. 10.	644	Tantric
Ch. 73. XIV. 13.	420	Tantric
Ch. 73. XIV. 14.	421	Tantric
Ch. 73. XV. frag.11.	336	Tantric
Ch. 73. XV. frag.8.	258	sūtra
Ch. 75. IX. 2.	351	Tantric
Ch. 80. XI.	438	Tantric
Ch. 9. I. 18.	225	sūtra
Ch. 9. I. 45.	96	sūtra
Ch. 9. I. frag. 45.	93	sūtra
Ch. cvi. 001.	no no.	Buddhistic verses?
Ch. XIX. 004.	739	divination
Ch. XL. h.	502	Tantric

In the list, you will notice that the texts with certain 'Ch.' numbers belong to the post-Tibetan Empire period. For example, nearly all of the texts with 'Ch. 73. III.' belong to this period. A question may be raised as to what this 'Ch. 73. III.' is and what these site numbers stand for.

'Ch.' of course stands for 'Ch'ien-fo-tung' (Qianfodong 千佛洞), the cave of the thousand Buddhas. What about the following numbers? Stein's site numbers, for example for the sites of Mīrān and Mazār Tāgh, meticulously designate the excavation point within each site.[9] Unfortunately, it is less clear for the Dunhuang texts, but still Stein's site numbers are the only clue to help us to reconstruct the original state of the library cave.

According to Stein, almost all the materials in the library cave were originally divided into two types of packages. One type, which he called "regular library bundles", contains 1,050 Chinese rolls, and eighty packets of Tibetan rolls as well as eleven huge Tibetan *poṭhi*s. The other type, which he called "miscellaneous or mixed bundles", consists of Tibetan, Sanskrit, Khotanese, Uighur, and Sogdian texts,

[9] TAKEUCHI 1998: xxv–xxvi.

as well as paintings, textiles, and other materials. Stein took texts from both types, but more from the miscellaneous bundles, as he considered the latter to contain more varieties of texts and materials.

Returning to the site numbers, Stein did not explain the ‘Ch.’ numbering system except for the texts in Brahmi scripts: namely, if Ch. is followed by a single serial number (e.g., Ch. 0041), the text is extracted from the regular library bundles or from the miscellaneous bundles and was treated individually without reference to the original bundle. But if a small Roman numeral is inserted in between (e.g., Ch. xx. 009), it (i.e. xx.) refers to the bundle number of the miscellaneous bundle the text originally belonged to.[10]

Then, what about Tibetan texts? We find the following types of site marks in de la Vallée Poussin’s catalogue.

Table 2: Stein’s ‘Ch.’ numbers for Tibetan Texts

A) Ch. + num.	< miscellaneous bundles / library bundles
Ch. 01.–012. (Pls. CLXXIII–CLXXIV)	< miscellaneous bundles
Ch. 05., 011 (Aparimitâyuru-nâma)	< library bundles
Ch. 0001.–0071., 1292.	< miscellaneous bundles
Ch. 1. 1–1. 3.	< miscellaneous bundles
Ch. 2. A.–E.; 2a. A.–J.	< miscellaneous bundles
B) Ch. + Roman + num. (11 Romans)[11]	< miscellaneous bundles
Ch. VII. frag. 10.–12.	
Ch. X V.; XVII., XIX. , XXIII., XXVII., XXXIII., XL.,	
Ch. CXXII. 1.–5.	
Ch. CXLVII. 1.–31.	
Ch. CCC. 1.–frag. 4.	
C) Ch. + num. + Roman + num. (18 numbers)	< library bundles ?

[10] “… the Poṭhis and rolls found in miscellaneous bundles can be generally distinguished from those which were extracted from regular packets of Chinese rolls by the bundle number in small Roman figures (i, ii. xl, etc.) prefixed to the serial numbers (003, 0019, etc.) in the ‘site marks’. Poṭhi leaves and rolls subsequently recovered on searching the regular packets in which they were embedded bear only serial numbers (e.g. Ch. 0041, 00271, etc.).” (*Serindia*: 814, fn. 2; also cf. 836, fn. 13).

[11] The Roman numbers originally in small figures in Stein’s system (cf. fn. 10) were changed to capitals in de la Vallée Poussin’s catalogue.

Ch. 9. I. 1.–frag, 78.; .
Ch. 51. I. 1.–60.
Ch. 73. I. 1.–3.
Ch. 73. III. 1.–44.
Ch. 73. IV. 1.–18.; frag. 1–5.
Ch. 73. V.
Ch. 73. VI.1.–11.; frag. 1–3.
Ch. 73. VII. 1.–21.; frag. A. 1.–B. 14.
Ch. 73. VIII. 1.–20; frag. 1.–6.
Ch. 73. IX.
Ch. 73. X.
Ch. 73. XI.
Ch. 73. XII. 1.–3.
Ch. 73. XIII. a.–e.; 1.–18.
Ch. 73. XIV.; XIV. 1.–16.b.
Ch. 73. XV.; XV. 1–22.; frag. 1.–12.
Ch. 73. XVI.
Ch. 73. XVII.
Ch. 74. III.,IV., V., VI., VII.
Ch. 75. II., III., IV., IX., XI., XII.
Ch. 76.–88.

D) Fragment < ?
Fragment 1.–99.

The first two types correspond to the Brāhmī case. Then we have another type, which has another Arabic numeral in between Ch. and Roman numeral (e.g. Ch. 73. III. 5). This form is found only for Tibetan texts, not for Brāhmī, as far as I know. Putting together several pieces of information, I have come to realise that the number following 'Ch.' may refer to the bundle number of the original regular library bundle. Of course, there were more Chinese rolls in the regular library bundles, but unfortunately the Ch. numbers on the Chinese texts were abandoned and replaced with new S. numbers when the documents were catalogued. They only remain in Tibetan texts.

Thus, 'Ch. 73. III.' which mostly consists of post-Tibetan Empire texts, and other similar numbers containing post-imperial texts are likely to have been regular library bundles. What were the regular library bundles?

Rong Xinjiang (RONG 1999–2000) has convincingly demonstrated that the Dunhuang Library Cave was not a waste repository, as

previously argued, but a storehouse of the Three Realms (Sanjie) Monastery 三界寺 which was located near the cave. Consequently, documents, sūtras and votive offerings (paintings *etc*.) in the library cave were the library holdings and property of the Three Realms Monastery.

In the 10th century, a monk named Dàozhen 道真 at Three Realms Monastery made a great effort to substantiate the library's collection. The remaining result is the regular library bundles of Chinese and Tibetan rolls. The monastery and the library cave also accepted many texts donated by devotees or pilgrims. These donations included full-length texts in Sanskrit, Khotanese, Sogdian, Uighur, and Tibetan, which Rong calls "less regular [library] bundles". They were mostly produced in multiethnic and multilingual Dunhuang in the 10th century, not long before the closure of the Dunhuang cave.

Thus, I wouldn't be surprised if a good percentage (20%, 30% or more?—I don't want to be too challenging) of the Tibetan Buddhist texts from Dunhuang, especially of the regular library bundles, could also be dated to the 10th century.

Rong also showed that the library cave contained many apocryphal sūtras and other popular texts, e.g., *Yánluowang shòuji* 閻羅王授記 (King Yama's Prediction) and *Bâyang shénzhou jing* 八陽神咒経 (The incantations of the eight *yang*), which circulated as the result of the massive popularisation of Buddhism. These Buddhist texts, produced in the 10th century, are evidence of the new movements of Buddhism in Dunhuang. Then, what kinds of Tibetan texts were written at the time?

Table 1 shows that many of the texts are classed as Tantric. Tantric Tibetan texts were no doubt very popular among local peoples, such as Chinese and Khotanese, in Dunhuang and Hexi at the time. Khotanese interest in Vajrayāna Buddhism may be shown by a passage in the Sanskrit-Khotanese conversation manual.[12] In the process of the massive popularisation of Buddhism, Tantric Buddhism must have attracted people's attention, while Tibetan texts translated from Sanskrit since the 9th century were the most easily available Tantric texts for Chinese and Khotanese in Dunhuang.

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12 KUMAMOTO 1988.

These Tantric texts have been discussed by scholars as "Old Tantric" in contrast to "New" or "Later Tantric".[13] But if they were written in the late 9th to 10th century, which is really in between the *snga-dar* and *phyi-dar*, written in multi-ethnic and multi-cultural milieux, not necessarily by Tibetan hands, we may have to reconsider their implications. I am not qualified to do this and hope someone will pursue it.

A task which I may do myself is palæography. As I mentioned, the semi-cursive style peculiar to the post-imperial period is distinctive and easily recognised. But there are many dubious cases as well. I tried to measure the palæographical features of one such text within 'Ch. 73. III.', a group mostly consisting of post-imperial texts (IOL Tib J 728). It shows that although the writing style looks more like *dbu-can*, a preliminary palæographical analysis points to a closer relation with the post-imperial Tibetan style. Once palæographical Merkmals are established, we can date Pelliot texts and those in other collections with more certainty.[14] In this respect, establishing formal palæographical Merkmals, such as measuring the angle of writing, ductus, descenders, and *greng-bu* and the proportional sizes of letters is necessary for future research.

Palæographical analysis also has bearing on the beginning of various writing styles. Many of you are familiar with Buddhist texts written in *dbu-can* style but with interlinear *dbu-med* writings or pagination in *dbu-med* (e.g., IOL Tib J 588, 591, 592, 616, 618, 619, 625, 6269). For example, IOL Tib J 588 is a well-known collection of *śāstras* translated by 'Gos chos-grub or Wu Facheng 呉法成, written in the mid-9th century. We know a cursive style already existed at least towards the end of the Tibetan period; it then gradually became more prevalent, but the *dbu-can* style was mostly (but not completely, of course) replaced by the post-imperial style. There also existed a squarish *dpe-yig* like style (e.g., IOL Tib J 358).

Thus, several writing styles already existed in the post-imperial period. The process of how these writing styles changed or developed into various modern writing styles needs to be ascertained in

[13] E.g., IOL Tib J 321, 332, and 540 have been discussed in TANAKA 1993: 133.

[14] A considerable number of Pelliot texts (e.g. P 44, 103, 322, 626, 634, *etc*.) share the same palæographical features with the post-imperial Stein texts. Some are apparently written by the same hands. Sam van Schaik and Jacob Dalton are also undertaking palæographical comparisons.

comparison with the Tabo texts (as Cristina Scherrer-Schaub is meticulously undertaking) and texts from Kara-khoto, Etsin-gol and Turfan, taking both chronological and local variations into account.

Summing up, I think that our concept of Tibetan texts in the post-Tibetan Empire period has entered the third stage. First, Uray pointed out that Tibetan was used as an international *lingua franca* among Chinese, Khotanese and Uighurs. Secondly, I argued that Tibetan was used not only internationally, but also among local Chinese and Khotanese for official, private and religious documents, regardless of genre. Tibetan was the most widely used second language in the multilingual Gansu and East Turkestan region. Now, I would like to argue that not only the Tibetan language but also Tibetan Buddhism was very much alive among Khotanese, Chinese and other ethnic groups in the 10th century, and many Tibetan Buddhist texts, especially Tantric texts, were produced at the time. Consequently, many more Tibetan Buddhist texts than we had previously thought should be dated to the 10th century, when they were written in multiethnic social milieux and reflected the new Buddhist movement of the 10th century.

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TIBET: AN ARCHÆOLOGY OF THE WRITTEN[1]

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L'écrit représente un modèle théorique, un système symbolique particulier. Si pour être reproduit il a besoin d'un support matériel, d'un acteur habile dans le tracé, il reste fondamentalement théorique et, tout comme le langage, supporte des écarts de forme qui ne modifient pas nécessairement sa réception. Une chose est chercher le modèle qui a bien pu servir lors de l'adoption officielle de l'écriture au Tibet (si adoption il y eut à part des récits légendaires), dans le sillage de l'unification de l'administration impériale et de l'institutionalisation du bouddhisme. Autre chose est vouloir prétendre trouver l'archétype de l'écriture d'emprunt: ce serait se vouer d'avance à l'échec et les solutions discordantes transmises à la fois par l'historiographie tibétaine et les travaux modernes sont là pour le montrer. Les mythes viennent nous dire ce que les faits ne nous disent pas toujours et le contraire est tout aussi vrai.

Toute la question consiste à se demander comment imaginer un modèle qui sous-tend une structure commune à des sous-modèles avec variantes parfois notables? Tout comme le bouddhisme, l'écrit pénètre dans le monde tibétain par un phénomène de «porosité» et suivant un processus séquentiel à long terme. Ainsi, d'une certaine manière, le phénomène épouse l'évolution des variétés d'écritures indiennes qui ne reflètent pas nécessairement ou, du moins, non pas toujours des zones géographiques différentes. Il reflète aussi la variété des parlers d'un groupe social , sinon des personnes qui le transmettent. Et les marges du Tibet d'où, par la force des choses, l'écriture fit son entrée sont fortement marquées, bien qu'à des degrés divers, par le multilinguisme et le multiculturalisme. Faire l'économie de cet aspect de la question ce serait pour le moins extravagant. Comme dit le proverbe:

[1] Our sincere gratitude goes to Arthur McKeown who carefully read the text, corrected and improved the English. Inaccuracies and errors however are only ours.

mig ya gcig bsgribs pa'i mthoṅ tshul ni //
g-yag źar bas spaṅs rtsva byas daṅ mtshuṅs //
de 'dra ba'i skyon 'khrul sel ba'i phyir //
blo gzu bor gnas pas dpyad źib mdzod //[2]

I. HISTORIOGRAPHY

The introduction of Buddhism to Tibet has often been associated with the origin of the Tibetan script, modelled after a derived form of a so far unidentified 'Indian' late[3] form of *brāhmī*. Tradition equally maintains that the 'invention' of the written word was foisted upon Sroṅ btsan sgam po as a necessary precursor to enacting the first Code of Law.[4] The general problem has puzzled the field of Tibetology ever since its inception, from quite early on the western world has been aware of the essentials transmitted by the Tibetan tradition.

[2] This short essay elaborates on material presented in two public lectures: "Speech(s) and act(s) of truth. Inquiry into a key Indic motive and its transmission to Tibet as attested by IXth–XIth c. documents of Dunhuang", delivered at SOAS, University of London, on the 23th of March 2001, and "Tibet. Usage de l'écrit à l'époque impériale", at the Société Asiatique in Paris, the 8th of March 2002, see *Journal Asiatique*, T. 290.2, 2002: 634–35. The Tibetan proverb is quoted from NGAWANGTHONDUP NARKYID 1982: 33, 1983: 212–13.

[3] See SALOMON 1998: 39–41 "Around the late sixth century, the so-called Gupta script of northern India evolved into a distinct new script for which the preferred name is Siddhamātṛkā, which was to have a profound effect on the subsequent development of the northern scripts. Early specimens of this script include the Bodh-Gayā inscription of Mahānāman (AD 588/589, CII 3, 274/8) and the Lakkhā Maṇḍal praśasti (Appendix nr. 8). It continued to be used into the tenth century, undergoing a gradual transformation into Devanāgarī during the latter part of this period. Siddhamātṛkā was used as an epigraphic script not only in northern and eastern India but also in the west, where it replaced the southern style scripts which until then had predominated there, and occasionally in the Deccan and even in the far south, for example, in the Paṭṭadakal biscript inscription (EI 3, 1-7, see 2.5.4). In this respect it prefigured the role of its daughter script, Devanāgarī, as a quasi-national script which was sometimes preferred to the local scripts for writing Sanskrit. The Siddhamātṛkā script is principally characterised by a strongly angular aspect, with a sharp angle (whence the term 'acute-angled-script') at the lower right corner of each letter, reflecting the influence of pen-and-ink writing on the epigraphic script; by the extension of the head mark into wedgelike or triangular forms (whence it is sometimes referred to as 'nail-headed'), and by a strong tendency toward calligraphic elaboration, especially in the treatment of vowel diacritics and subscript consonants, (…)".

[4] The best study of this narrative still remains that of GÉZA URAY 1972, supplemented by UEBACH 1992.

The narrative motives related to the introduction of the Tibetan script and the literature which florished in the wake of the archæological find in India were critically confronted by several authors. A short note on this matter published in the *Yul phyogs so so'i gsar 'gyur me loṅ*[5] in 1938 by Amdo Gendun Chophel (dGe 'dun Chos 'phel), illustrates the common view of his epoch:

> The theory that when Thonmi Sambhota created the Tibetan letters, he based the *U'chen* (with head script) on the *Lentsa* (*Lanca*) and the *U'med* (headless script) on the *Wartu* has been fabricated by the glib imagination of a few later individuals. Reputed early historians like 'Gos-lo chenpo (1392–1481) have not mentioned anything about such theory. Even All Knowing Bu-sTon (1290–1346) has never stated that both *U'chen* and *U'med* were created at the same time right from the very beginning. He only mentioned that the Tibetan Letter was created on the Kashmirian model.[6]

Interestingly enough NGAWANGTHONDUP NARKYID (1982: 23) quotes a passage drawn from the *Si tu'i sum rtags* where Si tu (VIII) Chos kyi 'byuṅ gnas (1699/1700–1774), merging two distinct pieces of narrative,[7] records that "Thon mi sambhota, after his return from India, and when staying at the castle of Maru, created the Tibetan letters (*bod yig gi gzugs brtsams*), modelled after the letters of the *nāgarī* [script]".[8] Without entering the rather complicated interweaving of tradition and exchange (na. with the XVIIth c. Jesuit

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[5] The 'Melong' was founded by Khunu Tharchin in 1926, in Kalimpong, see STODDARD 1986: 161. In the second part of the thirties, during his exile in India, a series of articles by Gendun Chophel appeared in the journal. The Tibetan scholar met R. Sāṅkṛtyāyana in 1934, when the Paṇḍita visited Tibet in his "second search of Indian manuscripts", and left Tibet shortly after. Known as a prodigious polymath, dGe 'dun took advantage of his voluntary exile to extend his interests to Indian epigraphical matter. Certainly, the friendship with Sāṅkṛtyāyana, and the scientific collaboration with Nikolaï K. Rerikh (G. N. ROERICH), gave him easy access to the results of the Archæological Survey of India, with whom his friends were very familiar. Both Rerikh's and Sāṅkṛtyāyana's correspondence show that a genuine cenacle of intellectuals of the time paved the way for the field of Indo-Tibetan studies.

[6] AMDO GENDUN CHOPHEL 1983: 56–57. *Cf.* NARKYID 1982: 26, 1983: 209–10.

[7] *E.g.* sku mkhar Ma ru, according to CHAB SPEL (TSHE BRTAN PHUN TSHOGS), is identified as the place where Thon mi presented the specimen of Tibetan alphabet to the bTsan po, see SØRENSEN 1994: 175, n. 496.

[8] On this anachronism, see *supra* n. 3.

mission of Grüber and D'Orville),[9] which far exceed the present scope, we may recall that at the epoch of Si tu Chos kyi 'byuṅ gnas "by far the most outstanding Tibetan linguist of his century" who in "his untiring search for Sanskrit manuscripts" visited Nepal,[10] the idea is shared by several authors in- and outside Tibet.

The theoretical impetus born from the disclosure of structural affinity between Sanskrit and European languages in the last part of the XVIII[th] c. raised interest in the study of languages and scripts. In the wake of the archæological finds the scholars were centering their interests upon the study of palæography, epigraphy, and numismatics. In this conspectus the 'Gupta' inscriptions, newly discovered, were playing a subtle ideological *cum* political role. As a matter of fact, Brian H. Hodgson's appointment as Assistant Resident in Kathmandu in 1820, coincides with the beginning of Indian palæography when, among others, James Prinsep (1799–1840) deciphered the *brāhmī* and the *kharoṣṭhī* scripts.[11] In 1829 Hodgson published *Notices of the languages, literature and religion of the Bauddhas of Nipal and Bhot* with an appendix of various scripts from Nepal and Tibet,[12] that eventually was sent to I. J. Schmidt and A. Csoma de Kőrös. Shortly before, Isaac Jacob Schmidt had presented a lecture to the *Académie Imperiale de St. Pétersbourg*, with the title "Ueber den Ursprung der tibetischen Schrift",[13] further published in 1832. I. J. Schmidt, a Moravian missionary, a polyglot, and a Buddhologist *avant la lettre,* in his *Abhandlungen* follows the narrative of the *rGyal rabs gsal ba'i me loṅ,* that he knew via the

[9] The nāgarī, or deva-nāgarī script was particularly in vogue and wide-spread, among Indian paṇḍita and Western scholars, at the epoch of Si tu Chos kyi 'byuṅ gnas, *cf.* J. FILLIOZAT, ICl: 678.

[10] *Cf.* VERHAGEN 1996: 275–87.

[11] SALOMON 1998: 203–04.

[12] RÓNA-TAS in his Wiener Vorlesungen (1985: 183–242, 217) analyses with much care the chronological accounts of the question and presents a wealth of material (including a rigourous and ponderate response to Laufer 1918) to whom we are deeply indebted.

[13] SCHMIDT 1832: 41–54. See also URAY 1955: 101–22; RÓNA-TAS 1985: 217. Also worth noting are his pioneering *Grammatik der Tibetischen Sprache* (St. Petersburg, 1839) and *Tibetisch-deutsches Wörterbuch: nebst deutschem Wortregister* (St. Petersburg und Leipzig, 1841). Yakov Ivanovitch Schmidt (1779–1847), a Dutch Moravian Missionary, eventually Russian citizen, "who applied himself to the study of Mongol and Tibetan", contributed to the rise of Tibetan studies in the German-speaking world, extending at that time far beyond the limit of the kingdom. *Cf.* G. N. ROERICH 1945: 75–76.

Mongol version (RÓNA-TAS 1985: 215–17), a passage that still remains "*the must*" narrative on the introduction and description of Tibetan script.[14] There we read that "Srongdsan Gambo" sent Thonmi Sambotha "nach Hindustan, der ursprüngliche Sitze des Buddhismus". After a rather long digression on the 'lañtsa' that we could find hilarious if digressions such as this, alas, were not still in vogue in contemporary literature, Schmidt draws the conclusion that the Tibetan script could be compared with Indian specimens of the VII[th] c. and quotes the work of Charles Wilkins (1749–1836) "one of the greatest pioneer Indologists" and the first to have published old Indian inscriptions.[15] Then Schmidt notes "Unter allen Inschriften, deren Sammlung und Bekanntmachung wir dem Fleisse und Eifer der Engländer in Indien verdanken, habe ich nur zwei gefunden, welche die verlangte Aehnlichkeit mit der Tibetischen Schrift darbieten nämlich die in der Felshöhle von Gajā befindliche, und eine der Inschriften auf der Saule von Allahbad". Schmidt adds that "Rémusat hat schon vor mir diese Aehnlickeit endeckt ohne aber weitere Folgerungen daraus zu ziehen".[16] Schmidt admits that the ancestor of the Tibetan script must be older than the 'lañtsa' script,[17] and duly acknowledges in his *Nachtrag* that after completing his work he received Hodgson's publication which allowed him to note in passing that the Tibetan 'lañtsa' (see figs 1 and 2) is a loan word for *rañja.*[18]

[14] See SØRENSEN 1994: 167–86, notes and appendices.

[15] See CHARLES WILKINS 1788: 284–87. *Cf.* SALOMON 1998: 200; Wilkins published some Pāla inscriptions "of about the ninth c.".

[16] See SCHMIDT 1832: 45–46 and 46, n. 1, *cf.* RÉMUSAT 1820: 342.

[17] BERTHOLD LAUFER in his ferocious and *ad hominem* attack against A. H. Francke mentions this passage, see 1918: 37.

[18] The interesting point in Bla ma dam pa bSod nams rgyal mtshan (1312–1375)'s 'theory' about the origin of the Tibetan script is coordinating, so to speak, the factual and the traditional (*lan tsha lha'i yi ge // bha gru la klu'i yi ge / lhun grub tshad ma Bod kyi yi ge la skod //)*, that is the name of two currently circulating Nepalese scripts of his time (*rañjana* and *vartula),* and two scripts known from the famous list appearing in the *Lalita-vistara*, that he might have known from its mention in mṄa' bdag Ñaṅ ral (1124–1192?) *gi Chos 'byuṅ* (Sørensen 1994: 169, n. 468), na. *devalipi* and *nāgalipi* which, in the *Lalita-vistara,* appear side by side. It should be stressed that, so far, both the *devalipi* and the *nāgalipi* belong to those scripts of the list that are purely fictional. If the tradition of opposing *devalipi* and *nāgalipi* as 'archetypes' of the Tibetan *dbu can* and *dbu med* could be understood as some sort of 'hierarchical' interpretation, viz. 'upper and lower scripts'. And even if this particular tradition seems to be unaware of the development of *dbu can* into the simplified script (*dbu med*)*,* it is nonetheless worth mentioning that '*vartula*',

Two years later (1834) the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* published, in three successive parts/instalments,[19] the first results on the Allahbad pillar recording "four inscriptions graved in differents characters" and at different epochs. This fascinating monument whose provenance is still uncertain (Kosam/Kauśāmbī?)[20] no doubt representing one of the strongest Indian "*lieux de mémoire*" (in the sense of Pierre Nora), records inscriptions dating from three Indian Emperors: the Mauryan Aśoka, the Gupta Samudragupta, and the Moghol Jahangir. This simple fact, mentioned in passing, shows that inscriptions were, if not read literally, certainly perfectly known (and used!) as 'memory' monuments in the wide sense of the word in its historical acception. But there is more. The inscription of Samudragupta (335–75) following RICHARD SALOMON (1998: 92) "is often held up as a model of high classical literary style of the mixed prose and verse (*campū*) class".[21] The interesting point is that in the course of successively deciphering, transcribing and translating the second pillar's inscription, JAMES PRINCEPS (1834: 115–16), in his attempt at dating the inscription upon palæographic criteria, says "The only argument which occurs to me as favoring the latter date, is the great similarity between the Sanskrit character of the inscription and the Tibetan, (noticed also by Lieutenant Burt): the alphabet of which, according to Csoma de Kőrös, was adopted from the Sanskrit

meaning 'rounded shaped', from the point of view of the empirical observation, is an appropriate characterisation of *dbu med*.

Incidentally, the fact that bSod nams rgyal mtshan mentions the *rañja(na)* could also possibly be due to his familiarity with Indian manuscripts circulating in Tibet, and particularly in Sa skya milieu, part of them being written in *rañjana*, a script which as the *vartula* were derived from the *siddhamātṛkā* and, at the same time, had been influenced by the *nāgarī* (ICl 679). Interesting enough Al-Bīṛūnī does not mention the '*devanāgarī*', a term that came into vogue particularly in the XVII[th] c., see *supra* n. 9.

The *rañjana* often used in Nepal to write *dhāraṇī*, was also used to copy prestigious manuscripts, *cf.* SĀṄKṚTYĀYANA 1937: 29, listing among other copies of the *Saddharma-puṇḍarīkasūtra* and *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā.*

[19] T.S. BURT, J. PRINSEP and A. TROYER 1834 . *Cf.* MILL W. H. 1834: 257–70, 339–44.

[20] *Cf.* SALOMON 1998: 138, 204–205.

[21] A similar perspective may be seen in dGe 'dun Chos 'phel, who in commenting upon the writing system used as a model for the Tibetan alphabet, says that it "belongs to the times of Kalidasa (Nagmo Khol) and king Surya-Varma (Nyima Gocha) and Kumara Sri (Shonnu Pal)", thus associating the glory of a dynast and the poet of poets, the model of literacy (however anachronistic this might be). *Cf.* NGAWANGTHONDUP NARKYID 1983: 210–11.

in the seventh century". Setting aside the fact that the tentative search of an Indian precursor of the Tibetan alphabet had, at that time, to be limited to the so far discovered archæological documents, be they epigraphic records or manuscripts, it is amazing to see how one of the main principles of palæography to which we will come in a moment was in this case perfectly at work. Indeed, the observations made by the first epigraphers were standing upon *the* or *that general tenor of writing* which, as in the case of style in artistic representation, may lead to more secure results than the reverse method which compares the sub-elements, one by one. It is with much regret that, due to limitations of space, we must leave the critical analysis of the historiography of this period which, besides revealing strong ideological, scientific presuppositions, shows once again that Tibet was part of the international arena of intellectual history, if not history *tout court*.

Subsequently, and with the large amount of Sanskrit manuscript and inscription remains that have surfaced in northern and north-western India, Gilgit, Afghanistan, Uzbekistan, and Chinese Turkestan (Xinjiang), other putative candidates as ancestors of the Tibetan script were taken into account, such as the Gōpālpur (Gōrakhpur district in U.P. near the Nepalese border) bricks.[22]

A. H. Francke's idea that Central Asia could have been playing an important role in the transmission of the Indian script (1912: 269), probably arising from his familiarity with the recently discovered manuscripts in 'Chinese Turkestan', introduced the conception of mapping the wide linguistic area bordering Tibet, that corresponded more or less with the regions in contact with Buddhism or Buddhist by themselves, an area with which the Tibetans were or would become familiar. Indeed, and notwithstanding the fact that a variety of hypotheses may be considered, including possible *tertium* 'transmitter(s)', it remains obvious and trite that the study of a script

[22] First published by W. HOEY and V. A. SMITH (1896), then by E. H. JOHNSTON (1938), who dates them of about 500 A.D. JEAN FILLIOZAT (ICl: 677) adds the Gōpālpur bricks' script to the comparative tables of Indian scripts and while comparing this alphabet with the Tibetan, cautiously notes "L'écriture la plus proche de celle du Tibet dont on sait qu'elle a été empruntée à l'Inde au VII^{e} siècle paraît être celle des briques de Gopālpur qui est de type gupta sans présenter les pointes de l'écriture siddham, mais les caractères tibétains classiques présentent de pareilles pointes, il est donc probable que leur modèles indiens étaient apparentés à la fois à l'écriture de Gōpālpur et au siddham". *Cf. infra* p. 233 and n. 42.

on its own, the study of palæography, cannot be separated from the study of linguistics, in the case in point here, early and late Old Tibetan *versus* Sanskrit, Prākṛt and other languages having adopted the Indian script in the corresponding periods.

In his article "On the Tibetan Letters *Ba* and *Wa*: contribution to the origin and history of the Tibetan alphabet", published in 1955,[23] Géza Uray provided the first comprehensive study based on critical textual analysis, comparative palæography, historical phonetic, and historiography. URAY (1955: 101–102) developed the thesis originated by Laufer, who "before the discovery of the Tibetan monuments of east Turkestan, in 1898, came to the conclusion that the Tibetan *ba* comes not from the Brāhmī *ba* but from the Brāhmī *va*". In this very important article, which provides rare material for the study of the Tibetan alphabet, Uray's acute analysis, though critically pointing to the problematic aspects of the theory of his predecessor, essentially substantiates (1955: 105) Laufer's position: "It is evident from all these that the Brāhmī *va* was adopted in Tibetan to denote the sound *b* because it had acquired the sound value *b* in India already. However, it has been pointed out that the use of *va* with the value *b* was not simultaneously adopted all over the northern part of India. This may furnish some information as to the place of origin of Tibetan writing. Unfortunately, however, from the works at our disposal we must conclude that the diffusion of the replacement of the former Brāhmī *ba* by *va* has not been duly studied in space-time context, consequently we shall have to be satisfied with a few preliminary remarks for the time being". While Uray thus seems to be aware of the fact that the limited number of specimens under consideration were restricting the solution, his underlying presuppositions still stay with the *origin's* theory of archetype, from which we would try to distance ourselves. Shortly after (1963), Ahmad Hasan Dani published a substantial work on Indian palæography, which partially superseded those of his predecessors, Bühler on which Uray's article is based, and G. S. Ojha.[24] Dani, who had access to the impressive work published ever since in *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* and *Epigraphia Indica* (as well as his personal work in surveying the archæology of north Pakistan), could

[23] On the analysis of the authenticity of the Tibetan tradition, see 113–21.
[24] See G. BÜHLER 1896, and G. S. OJHA 1918.

expand the comparative table of writings, and raise essential methodological questions. In the preface to the second edition (1985: ix), stressing the new evidence, Dani notes, "The discovery of large number of inscriptions along the Karakorum Highway has changed the whole perspective of the spread of Indian writing system. Our present concept of geographic nomenclature does not seem to hold good any more. There is need to discover different schools and the masters who founded those schools. They dictated the character of one or the other style and the scribes followed them as far as it was possible for them to do so. The hand writings are only attempts to conform to the set of character." Dani further remarks that it is difficult to speak of a geographical style (*versus* Bühler's "northern" and "southern" alphabet), since so many factors come to be interwoven in the course of the analysis. As an example of this, with regard to Uray's conclusion, we may note that Dani's comparative tables show the possible coexistence of *ba* = *va* and *ba* ≠ *va*, and attests, in the case of the Horiuzi Palm leaf-manuscript, the use of *va* triangular and slightly round on its left for both *b* and *v*, well attested in Tibetan Dunhuang mss (Fig. 3). The micro-historical approach suggests that Tibet may have been aware of the use of writing the triangular *ba/va*, when writing experts (*lipikāra, li byin)* transmitted the technique to the Tibetans. They might have come from Nepal, Bengal, from northern or north-western India, or even from China or Khotan. They might have been itinerants, could have been working in close connection with professional scribes if not clerks (*kāyastha, yi ge pa*) who were used to several styles of writing. They were practising various forms of 'late Gupta script', or *siddhamātṛkā,* and though similar to the script of Central and Northern India, the manuscripts that they were carrying with them could have been written in India, at their time or before, in Kāśmīr (and its neighbour Gilgit), or copied in Central Asia, or even, in China.

A fact equally worth mentioning is that, although the collections of Sanskrit Buddhist manuscripts from India and Central Asia include items dating from the first centuries B.C., the majority of them, including Khotanese manuscripts, and those of north-western India, Gilgit and Afghanistan, date from the Vth to the Xth c. A.D., and the careful philological comparative study of some of them shows, as the case may be, the possible itinerary of textual transmission, on

their way to Tibet.[25] Moreover, some texts, such as the Ecclesiastic Code (*'dul ba, Vinaya*), were set down in writing in India, in the V[th] century at the earliest and, later, the search for authoritative texts, at the time when the Tibetans were or are supposed to have adopted the Indian model of writing, could have been taken the long way, following the far-flung information /communication system inherent to the Buddhist 'universal' community.[26] Obviously however, writing (and the written) was not confined to the religious or cultural *milieu*; it was then a matter of prestige and power as well. Suffice it to mention the baroque inscriptions glorifying lords and sovereigns, or the extremely ornate script displayed by the presumed—though recently doubted—autograph (Fig. 4) of Harṣa Śīlāditya (*r.* 606–47), the king of Kanauj who, standing firmly on the victories of his father, had pacified the regions of northern India over half a century, and extended his kingdom as far as Vallabhī and Magadhā, contributing a sort of federation of Buddhist *rāja*s. Harṣa Śīlāditya could thus have been a putative model for the Tibetan king (or, for his omnipresent and omnipotent minister mGar sToṅ rtsan, *cf. infra*, p. 230), and his fame and fortitude must have come to Sroṅ gtsan sGam po's ears, who had more than one reason to know the political context of contemporary India, and the borders of Harṣa's dominion. More than thirty years ago, CHRISTOPHER BECKWITH (1977: 89, 94) in his "Preliminary note on the economic history of the Tibetan Empire", stresses among other things, the fact that "During the Early Medieval Florissance (ca. 600–40), the Eurasian world was shared by a number of very large states, the most notable among which were the Tibetan,

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[25] Worth of mentioning here is the record of the Tibetan tradition transmitted in the *sGra sbyor bam po gñis pa*, and further supplemented by Bu ston and others, that the codification of the *chos kyi skad* intervened because on one part the former translations were not well adapted to the Tibetan language and, on the other, they were made from Buddhist texts in Chinese, Khotanese, or in the language of Zahor. *Cf.* infra pp. 231–32.

[26] On this socio-political concept, see now SCHERRER-SCHAUB 2009: 154, n. 12: "Naturellement le mot 'international', fort commode et fort utilisé, n'est pas à prendre à la lettre. L'expression 'communauté des moines des quatre directions' (*cāturdiś-ārya-bhikṣu-saṃgha*), fréquemment attestée dans les inscriptions, désigne couramment les religieux itinérants ne relevant pas de la juridiction circonscrite par l'enceinte monastique (*sīmā*) hôte, et qui néanmoins sont—en tout cas théoriquement—inclus dans la communauté, tenus tant que dure leur séjour aux devoirs imposés par celle-ci et jouissant des privilèges dont elle est nantie. En somme le *bhikṣu* itinérant jouit d'un statut intercommunautaire ou, si l'on veut, la communauté est universelle."

the Turco-Uighur, the Chinese T'ang, the Arabo-Persian, the Greek Byzantine, and the German Frankish empires." A few pages later, Beckwith notes, "The internationalism of the age burst into full bloom, as commerce and culture, hand-in-hand, flourishes as never before." To complete the picture however, the Indian side of the question (unfortunately and unfruitfully too often neglected!) must be taken into account, as well as the complex and intriguing role of Buddhism in the diffusion of Indian culture, administrative system, and religions, throughout Asia, including Indonesia, south-east Asia and, far beyond, Japan.[27]

A well known fact is that the long reign of Harṣa Śīlāditya tallies with those of Taizong (*r.* 626–49) and Sroṅ btsan sgam po (*r.* 614?–49/50). The diplomatic relations between the kings of Kanauj and China were preceded by the encounter between the Chinese pilgrim Xuanzang and Harṣa, recorded in the *Xiyuji*. The Chinese Annals for their part record that one of the diplomatic missions sent to Kanauj in 648 arrived too late, as Harṣa had already passed away, and found the kingdom in distress at the mercy of a certain *Arjuna, for some a minister, for others a local *rāja* of *Tīrabhukti (Tirhut, Bihar), who attacked the Chinese escort; Wang Xuance eventually was rescued by a joint army sent by Sroṅ gtsan sgam po and the king of Nepal.[28] This episode which is recorded in the *Deb ther dkar po*,[29] as well as Wang

[27] This is not the place to enter a detailed discussion, e.g. see the Buddhist use of ideological motives, at far distance, in SCHERRER-SCHAUB 2002: 297–98 and notes.

[28] On the rather complex chronology of the kings of Nepal and their correlation with the data of the Tibetan Annals (Ptib 1288, ll. 11: Bal po Yu sna kug ti bkum / Na ri ba ba rgyal phor bchug / gnag nad chen po byuṅ //), see PETECH 1961: 230–31. As pointed out by Petech in reconstructing the complicated issue related to Aṃśuvarman era of 606 "In 576 Aṃśuvarman, then the man behind the throne, installed a puppet of his, Mānadeva, followed later by Guṇakāmadeva. Both are mentioned in Kirkpatrick's *vaṃśavalī* as the immediate predecessors of Śivadeva. They must have been the kings who issued the Mānāṅka and Guṇāṅka coins, which are closely connected, both chronologically and typologically, with those of Aṃśuvarman. Then Śivadeva was placed on the throne. But in 606 he was deposed or died, and Aṃśuvarman began to rule without a puppet king, employing (or starting) the era of his first protegee Mānadeva".

[29] *Deb ther dkar po* 1990: 276. Ever since LÉVI (1892 and 1900), scholars have suggested a tentative reconstruction of the name of the presumed usurper who took power after the death of Harṣaśīlāditya and attacked the Chinese delegation, and whose name is known through the Chinese inscription of Bodhgayā and Chinese historiography, as 'Aluonashun'. LÉVI (1900) presents the *entrelac* of the textual history of this episode. Very recently, TANSEN SEN (2003: 22–24) reexamines this material with much sagacity. Referring to the mission of Xuance, CHRISTOPHER

Xuance's epigraphs that the Chinese envoy left at Bodh Gayā, and the inscription that the preceding embassy of 645 left on the Vulture Peak (Gṛdhrakūṭa), are well known from as early as the turn of the XIXth century, thanks to the prodigious, rigorous and fascinating contributions of Édouard Chavannes, Sylvain Lévi and Paul Pelliot. Li Yibiao's panegyric dates to 28 February 645, and is tinted with the strong Buddhist faith of the Chinese diplomatic *cum* religious envoys, that we may still see attested in later bilingual manuscripts from Dunhuang, a set of letters of introduction for Buddhist monks on their way to India.

What is of interest in the present context is the marked contrast that the author of the epigraph, whether religiously or politically oriented, wants to stress between Daoism and Confucianism, as "doctrines purement chinoises" and Buddhism as a universal religion: "Les Taoïstes prescrivent de suivre la nature, les lettrés mettent en honneur la conformité [de l'homme] avec son époque. Ils assurent le calme aux supérieurs et pratiquent les rites, ils modifient les moeurs et se plaisent aux règles. [Mais] ayant pris naissance dans la terre du milieu, ils n'englobent point les feuilles et les éloignés, [au contraire] quand la religion bouddhique est descendue ici-bas, elle s'est propagée sans limites".[30] Now if we follow the narrative of the *Jiu Tang shu*,[31] we may note that just after the record of the Indian mission, and the successive honour conferred by the Chinese Emperor on his Tibetan homologue, the Chinese Annals insert the famous request, from the part of the Tibetan *btsan po*, consisting of "graines de vers à soie, ainsi que des ouvriers pour la fabrication du vin, des moulins [à eau], du papier et de l'encre". A cluster of motives thus seems to suggest that the Tibetans were then acceding to the new trend of "foreign affairs" in which the "power of the written word" was playing a central role.[32]

BECKWITH (1987: 25) interestingly notes that Sroṅ btsan sgam po "Seems to have spent his final years principally in the work of completely assimilating the former Źaṅ-źuṅ state into his empire". Thus, the joint force sent to rescue the Chinese mission could also have played the role of preventing "useless disturbances" and control the neighbouring countries of his newly annexed territory.

[30] LÉVI 1900: 334 and notes (ref.). *Cf.* HUO, W. 1994 and LIN, M. 1998, and *supra* n. 25.

[31] *Cf.* SCHERRER-SCHAUB 1999: 5–6 and n. 9.

[32] And this could also have been one of the "éléments déstabilisateurs entre anciens et modernes" in early Tibet, *cf.* SCHERRER-SCHAUB 2001: 694–95.

As we have seen, there were various societies that had adopted the Indian script, particularly in Central Asia, and that the Tibetans had occasion to cross in the course of their trade, hunting or long-distance transhumant activities, if not military expeditions. These regions were also those where the Indian *brāhmī* script was modified and adjusted to the phonemes that were alien to the Indian languages.[33] It seems plausible that in Tibet, as is the case of these societies, writing was used in private matters, prior to being officially introduced and agreed to by the official power. There is little doubt that the western and north-western regions were the favourite candidates for the most intense process of exchange that eventually compelled the use of the written. Xuanzang, the Chinese pilgrim who travelled in India (ca. 630–44), and as we saw had occasion to met with Harṣa Śīlāditya (*cf. supra* p. 227) in describing Bolor/Bālur, notes:

> The kingdom of Boluluo is above 4000 *li* in circuit and is situated in the Great Snow Mountains, it is long from east to west and narrow from north to south; it produces wheat and pulse and gold and silver. The people is rich, the climate cold. The character of the people is rude and violent, (they) show little benevolence and righteousness, and are not known for (their) etiquette. (Their) appearance is crude and mean, and their clothes are (made) of simple felt, their writing is mostly the same as in India but their spoken language differs from (the other) kingdoms. There are several hundred monasteries and several thousand of monks (who) study without any focus (on a special tradition) and whose moral conduct is very immoderate.[34]

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[33] *Cf.* SANDER 1986: 162–65.

[34] WATTERS 1996[repr.]: 239–40, *cf.* BEAL 2004: 135. The translation here follows the preceding authors with substantial changes, following the new translation of Max Deeg (however, inaccuracies that might have crept in are our sole responsibility!), who adds important notes. Speaking of clothes he says: "Xuanzang seems to use a hierarchised ethnography of clothing, The state of cultivation or civilization is dependent on the quality of clothing people wear, and this quality normally is compatible with the character of the land and the people". To the passage concerned with the disrespect of morality (*jie*, Skr *śīla*), Max Deeg adds: "In the context of the preceding phrase (this) probably means that the monks do not keep the rules in the appropriate way and sometimes apply them excessively, sometimes break them. The description is in complete accord with the general remarks about the kingdom, and it may reflect the political interest in the region which becomes strategically important a couple of decades later in the conflict with the Tibetan, *cf.* Beckwith. The whole detour up the Indus valley sounds at least like a virtual expedition to a place which became more and more interesting for Tang politics and which Xuanzang had to include in his report, although it seems that he has not visited these places to the extreme north of the subcontinent himself. This is supported by the 'Life' which is

If not before, certainly since the conquest of Źaṅ źuṅ and the successive enforcing of power in the western regions, during the last part of the reign of Sroṅ btsan sgam po, eventually pursued by his omnipresent minister mGar sToṅ rtsan who was "the *de facto* ruler for the following next two decades",[35] the Tibetans were present in the region. That Źaṅ źuṅ and mGar sToṅ rtsan have been, in one way or another, crucial in the institution of the written, seems to be proved by the fact that immediately after the record of the burial of Sroṅ btsan sgam po (Ptib 1288.19–20), the *Tibetan Annals* record for the following four years (652–56) a series of political and administrative events related to Źaṅ źuṅ ending, in the last year (655–56), with sToṅ rtsan's drawing up (*yi ge bris*) of the [Code of] Law (*bka' khrims*),[36] at 'Gor ti. In the subsequent decades, as is well known, the Western region would become the theatre of intense movements, of complicated changing of alliances, of military expeditions where the Tibetans would be increasingly present with more or less success.[37] Petroglyph and rock inscriptions attest their

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much shorter and clearly states that Xuanzang reports what locals told him" (personal communication). Not far from these regions the "erotic drawings" of 'Thor-North' near Chilas seem to echo the unrestrained behaviour of Buddhist monks; see SANDER 1989.
: 124–25 and notes.

[35] See BECKWITH 1987: 25–27.

[36] Ptib 1288.23–30, 29–30: *yos bu'i lo la bab ste / / bstan po Mer ke bźugs śiṅ / blon ce sToṅ rtsan gyis / 'Gor tir / bka' grims gyi yi ge bris phar lo gcig //. Cf.* URAY 1972: 23–27; NAMGYAL NYIMA DAGKAR 1998.

[37] *Cf.* BECKWITH 1987. "Following Uray (1979: 281), from the last quarter of the VII[th] century", the Old Tibetan Annals mention diplomatic missions and military campaign in Dru gu yul, the "Land of the Turks" ruled by the Dru gu Ton yab go Kha gan (Ton yabgu qagan). "As from the same period (662–705) the Chinese sources report on the alliance of the Tibetans with the Western Turk tribes and on military expeditions of the Tibetans and their Western Turks allies in the Tarim basin and Ferγāna". Uray following Ligeti notes that the Dru gu yul should be regarded "as the land of the Western Turks, in the broadest sense of the word. In fact, by Dru-gu-yul not only the habitations of the 'ten Tribes' north and south of the T'en-shan mountains can be understood, but also the Tarim basin and Ferγāna, and eventually even Toχaristān and Gandhāra. Also Dru-gu Gu-zan-yul, "the Turk Gu-zan land" means hardly the territory of Ku-ch'êng and Turfan, but either Kučā (Turk. Küsen) or the former Kuṣāṇa countries Gandhāra and Udyāna, governed by the Turk Śāhi dynasty, as it has been proposed by H. Satō, on the one hand, and by J. Harmatta, on the other hand". Strikingly enough this is the period when in some regions of Toχaristān Buddhism is still florishing, and Sanskrit is then still in use among the upper class clerks, see SCHERRER-SCHAUB (forthcoming).

passage, as they attest the combined use of *brāhmī* and Tibetan alphabets, and the coalescing of military and hunting exploits. Moreover, an interesting passage found in the *dBa bźed* confirms that traders and clerks from Kāśmīr and Nepal were known for their facility in using two languages. The episode related to the mission to lHa sa of Źaṅ blon chen po sBraṅ rGyal sbra (sgra) legs gzigs, Seṅ 'go lHa luṅ gzigs and 'Ba' Saṅ śi, reports:

> The three arrived at Ra sa Pe har. There was no translator. So, in six marketplaces it was ordered that each chief merchant (*tshoṅ dpon*) had to search for a translator from Kashmir or Yang le. In the Lha sa market three people were found, namely, two Kashmiri lHa byin brothers and the Kashmiri A nan ta. The two lHa byin brothers were unable to act as translators except from some language of trade. As far as A nan ta is concerned: he (…) had studied the Brahman sacred scriptures (*gtsug lag*), grammar (*sgra*) and medicine, and was therefore able to translate the [language of the] doctrine. Thanks to the fact that he was translating, the doctrine was examined for two months. The concepts were extensively explained: it is certain that the holy doctrine follows the tradition of the sutra as far as all crimes are concerned, there is nothing which does not prevent them; as far as all good deeds are concerned, there is nothing which does not allow them to be done. As far as the benefit of all living beings is concerned, earnest application shall be dedicated to this and so on.[38]

On the other hand, the region of Gilgit was (and still is) the hub of the complex network of routes connecting ancient Sogdia, Bactria, the present regions of Afghanistan and Xinjiang (and, via Baltistan and Ladakh or Khotan, Tibet) to Mathurā and Magadha, via the ancient *Uttarapatha.* Now to come back to the main subject of our paper, we may see that the evolution of the Indian script in these regions, superimposes its frame over the routes' structure. Lore Sander notes, "The script of the northwestern provinces of India, represented by manuscripts from Bāmiyān and *graffiti* from the Upper Indus Valley, is basically the Brāhmī of Mathurā with some minor elements from the eastern or Kauśāmbī type of Kushan Brāhmī".[39] And it is not only palæography that points to the junction

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[38] *Cf.* fol. 7b-8a, WANGDU & DIEMBERGER 2000: 45.

[39] See SANDER 1999: 77; on routes of script's transmission, *na*. Gilgit, Dunhuang, Kathmandu, *cf.* also 99–100. Examples of these scripts are given in SANDER 1989 vol. I Text: 107–30, and vol. I Plates: pl. 196–215.

of the transmission routes through Gilgit, but also careful codicological analysis.[40] Now, the kind of *déjà vu* that may be experienced in quickly passing from a literary Tibetan Dunhuang manuscript to a sample of Kuṣāṇa-brāhmī could be explained by that sort of automatically reconstructed evolution of a pattern, mentally understood as a series of superimposed variations of the pattern in question, that comes from the intense practice of reading scripts. A good example of this (SALOMON 2003: 95) is given in the carefully recorded *stemma* of the brāhmī consonant '*la*'. LORE SANDER (1987: 317), to whom Indian and Central Asian palæography and history owe so much, in her inquiry about the "Origin and date of the Bower manuscript", quotes and comments upon the opinion of Dani expressed in his *Indian Palæography*:

> I do not place much reliance on the evidence of single letters because forms were not uniformly adopted even in the same region. I believe first of all in assessing *the general tenor of writing*, then in analysing the technical processes involved in the production of letters, and finally in observing the different forms resulting from these sources.

In commenting, LORE SANDER (*loc. cit.*) adds:

> This new palæographical approach which I independently expressed and followed in my palæographical study on the Sanskrit manuscripts of the Prussian Turfan finds, led most decidedly to different and more reliable results.

In this conspectus we do not wish to say that the routes transmitting the script to Tibet must have been necessarily those passing via Gilgit. What we intend to say is that the Sanskrit manuscripts of Gilgit, Khotan, Nepal, etc. bear the shadow of the manuscripts of Mathurā and the Magadha region which saw the origin of early specimens that, for various reasons, have rarely survived.[41] Moreover, the comparative analysis of the "formal brāhmī of Gilgit,

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[40] See SCHERRER-SCHAUB 1999: 17–20.

[41] Late manuscripts from the Magadha region, some of which were brought to Tibet by Śākyaśrībhadra in 1203, are well represented and still extant among the wealth of Indian manuscripts, that were kept in Sa skya, Źa lu, Źa lu ri phug, Ṅor, etc. at the time of Rahula Sāṅkṛtyāyana's visit to Tibet, see e.g. the manuscript of Karṇakagomin's *Pramāṇavārtika-vṛtti*, the personal exemplar of Dānaśrī, see SĀṄKṚTYĀYANA 1937: 21–53.

Bāmiyān, and Khotan" (SANDER 1989) reveals a cluster of close parallels (most of which from Proto-Śāradā)[42] with Old Tibetan specimens of script (Figs 5, 6, 7).

Thus, and as noted earlier, whether a quest to enforce tradition, or simply a pervasive or recurrent idea, the archetypal motive that appears in the narrative of the reception of Tibetan writing,[43] might also reflect just the opposite, that is the fact that Thon mi Sambhoṭa was not sent to India in search of the writing, but rather on some sort of exploratory survey, with the aim of unifying on secure bases the various form of Tibetan writing circulating in the border regions, and/or codifying the Tibetan system of script, a fact all the more plausible since it could have been running parallel with political decisions from the part of the supreme authority, such as those better known as the *bkas bcad* concerning the *chos kyi skad.*[44]

II. WRITTEN AND SPOKEN WORD IN CHANCERY PRACTICE

Lex, leges and consuetudo: how universal patterns may be spoken in universal words…

As stated on another occasion (SCHERRER-SCHAUB 1999/2000 and 2002) the use of the written at the epoch of the Tibetan Empire illustrates the power of the written displayed to organise and control the world, in this case the administration and military organisation of the Empire, to structure the society (civil and penal code) and regulate evil influences (rites of protection, divination, thaumaturgy,

[42] See SALOMON 1998: 40 "In the far northwest, the Proto-Śāradā script first emerged around the beginning of the seventh century".

[43] Allusion is here made to the famous passage of the rGyal rabs gsal ba'i me loṅ, saying that the model of the Tibetan script had been presented to the King by Thon mi Saṃbhota on his return to Tibet and a gloss specifies that "the script-specimen offering (yi ge'i phud) is to be found engraved on a rock-[slab] at the temple of Dzen khog sna rdo"; SØRENSEN 1994: 175, and n. 496. The temple of Byen K[h]og-sna rdo'i lha khaṅ is indeed assigned to the epoch of Sroṅ btsan sgam po, see now SØRENSEN, HAZOD, GYALBO 2005: 200 and 414b, s.v. Byen K[h]og-sna rdo'i lho khaṅ.

[44] URAY (1955: 121) in trying to solve the difficult question of dating Thon mi's activity, and its authorship, considers in passing that "Thon mi's role [could have been] confined to a certain kind of script reform…". On the codification of the *chos kyi skad*, see SCHERRER-SCHAUB 1992, 1999, 2002.

medicine, etc.), to exert political authority (decree, rescript etc., as well as foreign affairs) and administer the state (trade, mail service, etc.).[45] Each transaction produces *a particular type* of document, makes use of particular *formulaic expressions*, is displayed according to *precise rules* and, in some case, is written on specific material support. Thanks to the prodigious quantity and variety of documents at hand, we may follow the complexity of the state machine laid down at an epoch when Tibet was at the pinnacle of its political and military glory. Indeed, by the mid-VIII[th] century, and more patently a decade later, when Khri sroṅ lde btsan promulgated the *bka' gtsigs*, the charter proclaiming Buddhism the state religion, the chancery practice of the Tibetan Empire was thenceforth firmly established.

Written acts or instruments however didn't come to create *ex-nihilo* the juridic transaction, whose structure and pattern continued to be in use. Still, and as will be seen, the role of the persons involved in the transaction, as well as the objects, whose function is extremely complex (they enforce the transaction, bound the protagonists, and possibly symbolise the alliance), will change, and most likely cause dissatisfaction on the part of those who are excluded from that process.[46] On the other hand, if it is commonplace to affirm that written public acts or charters constitute, so to speak, the perennial, or that chancery practice hands public acts down to future generation with the aim of preventing forgeries, the rhetoric of the written does not (or not always) question the practice in use before the written, nor does it note that juridic matter (until today) has recourse to gesture and spoken performance.

Notwithstanding the fact that, rigorously speaking, the excercise may be historically problematic,[47] the diplomatic analysis of the famous narrative appearing in the Tibetan Chronicles (Ptib

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[45] DRÈGE (1991: 15–16) notes the political and magical power attributed to the written in China, at the epoch of the Royaumes combattants and the Han dynasty. The same may be said about India.

[46] *Cf. supra* p. 228, n. 32.

[47] When comparing the structure and pattern that we find in the Chronicles's narrative with parallel passages present in dated inscriptions of the VIII[th] c., we implicitly assume that the events described in the Chronicles reflect actual facts that occurred a century or so before. This however is by no means certain, since the narrative could be a later reconstruction (*cf.* URAY 1992: 138–39, 139: "…the Mya/Dba's redaction of the Old Tibetan Chronicle cannot date from before 727/728"), henceforth our stress on the purely heuristic, tentative analysis of the question.

1287.247–98) and recording the procedure of reconfirmation of a legal assignment of privileges, granted to dBa's Phaṅ to re dByi tshab by the sovereign, is revealed to be heuristically productive. The passage in question has been studied previously by several authors and with/from various perspectives. Our analysis is here primarily centred upon the procedure and the form of rites/actions that may possibly be interpreted as constitutive elements of juridic transaction in a case when, as previously noted by Uebach, apparently—and according to the narrative itself—the written word is absent. The passage in question covers the fifth section of the division according to DTH/Ptib 1287.247–98.[48] The appropriateness of the actual narrative's sequence firstly questioned by dGe 'dun chos 'phel,[49] its subsequent reconstruction and the implications drawn from its result, have been critically analysed by GÉZA URAY (1992). Following Uray's intuition (1968), and based on codicological principles, ARIANE MACDONALD-SPANIEN and YOSHIRO IMAEDA (1979) took over the question. HÉLÈNE VETCH, in studying the Chinese texts written on the verso of Ptib 1287, and standing upon codicological principles, confirmed Uray's supposition. Uray keenly defines this passage as "Confirmation of the right of succession for Dba's Phaṅs-to-re Dbyi-chab's descendants".[50]

The narrative of this event records the detailed procedure. In order to obtain the reconfirmation of the former legal assignment, the beneficiary who is approaching his last resting place (*dBa's Phaṅs to re dbyi tshab rgas te | ñi ma 'de źiṅ mchis ||*, l. 247), and ardently wishes that the privileges will continue to be granted to his descendants, is requested by the sovereign to give assurance. Then, the "unique father of the dBa'" (*dBa's pha chig*) exhibits half of the pledge in his possession, "claps hand",[51] and presumably presents

[48] Corresponding to § V of "Chronicle-manuscripts" in URAY 1992: 126, *cf.* MACDONALD-SPANIEN 1971: 255.

[49] *Cf.* MACDONALD-SPANIEN 1971: 259, n. 267. The *Bod chen po'i srid lugs daṅ 'brel ba'i rgyal rabs Deb ther dkar po*, composed in 1946 and edited in 1964 (Darjeeling, Raṅ dbaṅ Par khaṅ), had been studied the same year by V. A. BOGOSLOVSKIJ. In 1978 a translation appeared by bSam gtan Nor bu (GEDUN CHOEPEL *The White Annals*, LTWA, Dharamsala), see MARTIN 1997: 178–79.

[50] See UEBACH 1985; URAY 1992: 123–34 and notes.

[51] ll. 261–63: *la mo chag pa prum du // rtsaṅ pyed pub ste // pyag thab gsol to // sku rten du khrab bse' sna bcu daṅ / ldoṅ prom gyi ral gyi mdor cod / gñis gsol to //* While the tenor of this passage may be understood, several details remain obscures. How to explain for instance the expression '*rtsaṅ pyed*': half of the original

specific objects (*sku rten du khrab bse' sna bcu daṅ | ldoṅ prom gyi ral gyi mdor cod*), functioning as credentials or *bona fide* guarantee (the *'sealed' pledge*) and as "sacral/sacramental? symbols" (the *sku rten)*. Following this, the sovereign yields/concedes the oath on his (own) head (*btsan pos dbu sñuṅ yaṅ gnaṅ ṅo* ||, l. 263), and dBa's dByi tshab and his six sons, seven all together, swear in their turn (*dBa' dkyi tshab spun mtshan bdun yaṅ bro stsal to //,* ll. 263–64).[52] This passage attests a family of terms related to the procedure of swearing that would deserve to be reprised and carefully reconsidered. All the more because as noted by ÉMILE BENVENISTE in his keen analysis, "the oath's intent is always the same in all civilisations, but the institution may assume a peculiarity of its own".[53] Most important is thus the use of verbs, since they figure the (today lost) underlying performance's modality. [54]

[pledge]? And while it is tempting to take '*pyag thab'* as a substitute of '*pyag rgyas thab',* our text seems to differentiate (*cf.* ll. 1287.424 *et sq*.). For this reason we suggest to understand 'pyag thab' as the expression designating the gesture of the hand (clapping with the palm of the hand? *cf.* French 'paumée',), corroborating the force of the preceding action. Long ago, quite (1996's teaching at the EPHE in Paris), we suggested to carefully consider the family of terms that we may gather in Old Tibetan documents having, as their first element '*phyag*'/'*lag*' (Latin *manu-*). For another example of gesture of the kind, appearing in inscriptions, see SCHERRER-SCHAUB 2002: 265–66 and notes.

[52] Ptib 1287.260–64: *da khyed dBa' pha chig ni // gdo' thag gñis su / glo ba ma riṅs pas // la mo chag pa prum du pyag thab kyaṅ gsol chig // dbu sñuṅ yaṅ gnaṅ ṅo źes bka' stsal to // la mo chag pa prum du // rtsaṅ pyed pub ste // pyag thab gsol to // sku rten du khrab bse' sna bcu daṅ / ldoṅ prom gyi ral gyi mdor cod / gñis gsol to // btsan pos dbu sñuṅ yaṅ gnaṅ ṅo // dBa's dByi tshab spun mtshan bdun yaṅ bro stsal to // btsan pos bka' stsal pa //* . Strikingly enough, the term *sku rten* designates, according to the *chos kyi skad*, a sacred implement, and specifically an image, having as a possible Sanskrit antecedent the word *pratimā*, 'image, symbol'. The term could be translated as the 'sacral symbol' with the proviso that 'sacral' is here by no means 'religiously oriented', all the more that the procedure does not invoke the *phyva* (or any 'divine' entity whatsoever) as witnesses, contrary to what might be seen in parallel acts, attested in historiography. In the present context the listed *sku rten* may be representing and, at once associating, the present act with the military event having motivated the legal assignment. Compare this with the archaic form of the oath in ancient Greece in the analysis of BENVENISTE 1947–1948: 81–94.

[53] BENVENISTE 1969: 163–64: "Des expressions religieuses où la parole a une vertu et des procédés propres, aucune n'est plus solennelle que celle du serment et aucune ne semblerait plus nécessaire à la vie sociale. Cependant, et c'est là un fait remarquable, on lui chercherait en vain une expression commune. Il n'y a pas de terme indo-européen dont on puisse dire qu'il se retrouve dans toutes les langues anciennes et qu'il se rapporte proprement à cette notion. Chaque langue a ici son expression propre et, pour la plupart, les termes employés n'ont pas d'étymologie.

If we follow the Tibetan sources under consideration we may note that in the period running from the mid-seventh c. to ninth c., the terminology related to the oath's practice underwent subtle, though sensible, transformation (Table 1).[55] Interesting enough, the Tibetan expression *dbu (b)sñuṅ,* usually translated as 'to swear'[56] (and — *gnaṅ ba*, 'to take an oath'), covers quite a large semantic field and, as seen, might also be translated as 'to swear on his own head'/*per caput jurare,* thus attesting a phraseology commonly shared by distinct societies, which may be interpreted as the authority's

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L'obscurité des termes semble contraster avec l'importance et la généralité de l'institution qu'ils servent à dénommer. En réfléchissant, on voit la raison de cette discordance entre l'étendue de l'institution et la rareté des formes communes. C'est que le serment n'est pas une institution autonome, il n'est pas un acte qui ait signification en soi et se suffise à lui-même. C'est un rite qui garantit et sacralise une affirmation. *L'intention du serment est toujours la même dans toutes les civilisations. Mais l'institution peut revêtir des caractères différents*" (our emphasis).

[54] Here the verb *gnaṅ ba* has the meaning, among others, of 'to give' (in return and as due in conformity with the beneficiary's request), but also 'to perform, grant, bestow' (English 'to yield', or the more common 'to take'), French 'prêter', *cf.* 'prestation', Latin *præstare*.

A few lines later (ll. 273–75) the rite/act sequence seems to reveal the underlying process. After the ballad exchanged between the *btsan po* and dByi tshab, the latter and his sons, seven in all (*spad mtshan bdun*), request/call for the stone on which the oath on his own head is granted (*dbu sñuṅ gnaṅ ba'i go ma phyag du bon pa ni*), then [the Źaṅ lon, rṄegs] rGyal 'briṅ lan ton takes/receives (?) [the stone] and passes it to the hand [of the *btsan po*], after that (*rGyal 'briṅ lan ton gyis blaṅste pyag du gsol nas*) the stone is placed as foundation (*rmaṅ du brtsigs*) of dByi tshab's sepulchre (*mchad pa*). See below.

[55] For instance, and as shown by the fine study of YOSHIRO IMAEDA (2000: *contra* STEIN 1988), the Buddhist bias is well attested in the oath treaty state ritual of 821/822. Stein's "Les serments des traités sino-tibétains (8e–9e siècles)" alludes to the terminology related to the oath's practice; however, his analysis suffers, in this particular case, from a lack of *vision élargie* that generally characterises his work; probably also of a lack of familiarity with the work of diplomatists that could have been extremely inspiring, namely in distinguishing the variety and subtle transformation of oaths (cf. IMAEDA 2000: 95–96). Obviously indeed, one does not swear an 'international' treaty, such as the 821/822 treaty of lHa sa, with the same procedure whereby one swears an inter-clan pact, and/or a written document binding the Ruler and a clan's Lord. And the accurate analysis of the terminology may lead to the appropriate distinctions. However, these considerations far exceed the scope of the present article.

[56] *Cf.* UEBACH 1985: 52–54. LAUFER 1914: 71, n. 1 'lose, diminish' "...may I lose my mind if …"

affirmation/confirmation.[57] But there is more, and even more interesting.

As a matter of fact, the act becomes increasingly complicated because the present sovereign wishes to extend the privileges formerly granted by his father.[58]Accordingly, the preceding act must be modified and a new procedure is in need. After an interlude, taking the form of a ballad, the Lord of dBa' and his sons request the white stone (*gor ma dkar po*)[59] on which the oath on his own head had been previously performed, and which is laid as the foundation stone of dByi tshab's grave.[60] Then, sovereign and ministers, all together, swear on their own heads (*rje blon bdun gyis de ltar dbu sñuṅ gnaṅ ṅo//*). There follows the statement of the terms of the oath, whose inalienability is stated by an expression of perpetuity**,** whose modality is the reiteration of *nam* and *źa(r)* (*nam nam nam nam / źa źa źa źar yaṅ /*). The procedure contemplates a *clause of cancellation*,

[57] *Cf. Chos grags*, s. v. *dbu (b)sñuṅ: mna' bskyal ba daṅ mgo (m)na(') ba*. Without entering into a detailed analysis of the progressive changes incurred in the chancery phraseology, we may refer e. g. to the east pillar at Źwa'i lha khaṅ, l. 3, where the expression *dbu sñuṅ gtsigs slad gyis gnaṅ ba* may be literally translated as "a decree sworn on the head is hereafter granted [by the btsan po]", that is "an authoritative decree", *cf.* RICHARDSON 1985: 54–55.

[58] Ptib 1287.264–66: *dByi tshab glo ba ñe bas / gum na mchad pyag dar te brtsig par gnaṅ / rta ni brgya' dgum bar gnaṅ // bu tsha gaṅ ruṅ ba gchig // gser gyi yi ge myi chad par stsald par bka' / stsal to //*

[59] '*gor ma*' → '*rdo*'. *Cf. Deb ther dkar po*: *gor ma ni rdo ste mna' skyel tshe rdo ba re lag tu len srol de khams daṅ 'bras ljoṅs sogs na ñe dus bar du yod par snaṅ / źes gsuṅs /.* Interestingly enough, Pausanias (second half of the II[nd] c. A.D.) attests the practice of swearing on a stone. Gernet in his "Droit et prédroit en Grèce ancienne" (1948–1949: 68) underlines the performative impact of ancient oaths: "Les forces qui agissent dans le serment le plus ancien, nous les avons vues émaner de tel être ou de telle matière; et de ceux-ci la liste peut rester ouverte: quand on jure sur une pierre par exemple—c'est une pratique que Pausanias a plusieurs fois l'occasion de mentionner—en réalité on jure par la pierre", that is *tō petrómati,* Pausanias VIII, 15,2 *ib.* n. 1. *Cf.* Benveniste (1947–1948: 90): "…ὅρχος désigne à la fois une puissance vengeresse du parjure et l'objet matériel qu'elle investit". Cet objet, que le jurant saisit en prononçant l'engagement, lui communique sa vertu sacralisante et le voue au pire destin en cas de 'parjure'.

[60] In his "Early Tibetan inscriptions: some recent discoveries" (1998, § 31: 266), RICHARDSON mentions this fact in commenting upon a passage kept in one of the Lho-brag's inscriptions "The most unusual part of the inscription relates to the provision that the burial rites of Lde'u cung should be attended to by stong sde, the Governor of the Thousand District, presumably of Lho brag. The only other record of such a favour is the presentation by Srong-brtsan Sgam po of a stone, on which an oath had been sworn, to be the foundation of the tomb (mchad) of a noble minister of the Dba's clan".

in case of disloyalty or extinction of the line of descent. In this case the sovereign and his ministers claim the right, among others, to be released from the oath (*dbu sñuṅ la ma gthogs /*), and this amendment, in its turn, is declared inalienable (*nam nam nam nam / źa źa źa źar/*).

A similar pattern may be observed in the record of juridical acts kept in inscriptions. A century or so later, dating from the event narrated in the *Chronicle,* the procedure appearing in public acts and emanating from the supreme authority, explicitely mentions and details the role of the written act and of the written word. The text kept on the north wall of the Źol pillar, attesting to the privileges granted by Khri sroṅ lde brtsan to sTag sgra Klu khoṅ, Great minister (Blon po chen po) and Conciliator (Yol gal 'chos pa) rewarded for his successful military exploits, states from the very beginning that the epitome of the grant of privilege is put in writing on the pillar, thus implicitely admitting the existence of a written charter, most likely kept in the archive—a fact confirmed in the Źwa'i lha khaṅ inscription, a genuine epitome of chancery practice.[61] While both inscriptions attest a change in the continual right (the inheritance right does not end with the extinction of the direct descendent, since the line of succession is transferable to the indirect kin), the formal oath does not change radically (Table 2). Among others, the text uses the abridged form (*nam nam źa źar*) of the expression of inalienability that we had seen in the *Chronicle,* side by side with the term *g-yuṅ druṅ*, explicitely expressing the perpetuity, in this case the assignment of a great silver ensign.[62] If the act is still sworn, its force is in this case less (socially) performative. The fact of stating the oath, and the fact of expressing it in written form, acquire a probatory value: the written oath refers to the written act itself, and comes as an element of its validation. The same phenomenon occurs with the introduction of the seal, functioning at once to authenticate

[61] *blon sTag sgra Klu khoṅ / dku rgyal gtsigs gnaṅ ba'i mdo rdo riṅs la yig du* (according to the edition of South and Coblin) *bris pa'* //. Following RICHARDSON (1985: 16–17, and 17, n. 2), who reads *yig gru bris pa'*, we would have here the first mention of a script: "written in square script/letter(s)". This however seems highly speculative. *Cf.* SCHERRER-SCHAUB 2002: 265 and notes.

[62] *btsan pho Khri sroṅ lde brtsan gyi źa sṅa nas dbu sñuṅ gnaṅ ste // blon sTag sgra Klu khoṅ gi bu tsha // rgyud 'pheld la nam nam źa [źar //] dṅul gyi yi ge chen po gcig // na myi dbab par g-yuṅ druṅ / du stsald phar gnaṅ ṅo //*

the document and to validate, by degrees, the increasingly complicated procedure of amending a previous act.[63]

Thus, in this context, the written in all its possible modalities, surreptitiously substitutes for the witnesses evidence, ordeal, certainly also in the case in point for the 'white stone' (*gor ma dkar po*), all elements which are absent in both inscriptions. The juridic act in itself, here a grant of privilege, is substantially the same, whereas the procedure and the social *prestatio* is conspicuously different. This however does not mean that the written came to radically change the society, let alone that it competed with orality. Both were (and are) coexisting, albeit in an increasing variety of interwoven relations, but this is another story.

[63] Cf. the inscription on the west pillar at Źwa'i lha khaṅ, ll. 58–62: *gtsigs kyi mkhar bu 'di / nam źig dbye dgos na yaṅ // sras dbon chab srid kyi mṅa' gaṅ mdzad pas riṅ lugs thugs ches pa gtsigs bdag 'draṅ ba gsum yan cad bsko ste / lag sbrel la dbyuṅ źiṅ / phyir yaṅ 'di bźin phyag rgya daṅ / riṅ lugs kyi rgyas btab ste / bźag par gnaṅ ṅo //.* On this passage, see SCHERRER-SCHAUB 2002: 264–66.

Table 1: Procedure and form enforcing the legal assignment

In absence of the written	The public act is granted on oath and validated by a formal procedure
Ptib 1287.260–264	*da khyed dBa' pha chig ni // gdo' thag gñis su / glo ba ma riṅs pas // la mo chag pa prum du pyag thab kyaṅ gsol chig // dbu sñuṅ yaṅ gnaṅ ṅo źes bka' stsal to // la mo chag pa prum du // rtsaṅ pyed pub ste // pyag thab gsol to // sku rten du khrab bse' sna bcu daṅ / ldoṅ prom gyi ral gyi mdor cod / gñis gsol to // btsan pos dbu sñuṅ yaṅ gnaṅ ṅo // dBa's dByi tshab spun mtshan bdun yaṅ bro stsal to // btsan pos bka' stsal pa // // btsan pos dbu sñuṅ yaṅ gnaṅ ṅo // dBa's dByi tshab spun mtshan bdun yaṅ bro stsal to // btsan pos bka' stsal pa //*
Ptib 1287.273–278	*… spad mtshan bdun gyis gtaṅ rag ched po btaṅ ṅo // dbu sñuṅ gnaṅ ba'i gor ma pyag du bon pa ni // rGyal 'briṅ lan ton gyis blaṅste pyag du gsol nas / gor ma dkar po dṅos ni // dByi tshab kyi mchad pa'i rmaṅ du brtsigso // Źaṅ lon źa 'briṅ du bro 'dor 'dor ba / Khu Khri do re smyaṅ yuṅ daṅ / gNubs sÑa do re gtsug blon daṅ / rṄegs rGyal 'briṅ lan ton daṅ / Tshe Poṅ khri btsan khoṅ sto / daṅ / 'O ma lDe khri bzaṅ lod btsan daṅ / Khu sMon to re phaṅs tshab daṅ / rJe blon bdun gyis de ltar dbu sñuṅ / gnaṅ ṅo // dbu sñuṅ gnaṅ ba'i tshig ni / …*
Ptib 1287.296–298	*bro bor ba ni / dByi tshab dṅos daṅ / bu bSe Do re ña sto / sNaṅ to re sum snaṅ / Khri sum rje cuṅ / Maṅ rje btsan zuṅ / / tsha bo sTag po rje myes snaṅ / Maṅ po rje pu tshab / daṅ bdun gyis bro bor ro //*
In presence of the written	The written public act is granted on oath
Źol North l. 2–3	*dku rgyal gtsigs gnaṅ ba'i mdo rdo riṅs la yig (g)ru bri pa' //*
North l. 2–3	*btsan pho Khri sroṅ lde brtsan gyi źa sṅa nas dbu sñuṅ gnaṅ* ***s****te /*

	Validated by a formal procedure
Źwa West l. 3 West ll. 26–28	*dbu sñuṅ gtsigs g-yuṅ druṅ du gnaṅ ba / kun gyis śes par bya ba'i phyir // dkon mchog gi rten / gtsug lag khaṅ 'dir / gtsigs kyi mkhar du brtsigs / rdo riṅs btsugs nas / / gtsigs gyi mdo / rdo la mṅon par bris te mtha' phyag rgyas btab nas bźag pa yin gyis / sras dbon phyi ma mṅa' mdzad pa rnams daṅ / chab srid kyi blon po phyi ma dbaṅ byed pa las stsogs pas kyaṅ / nam nam źa źar gtsigs kyi yi ge las 'byuṅ ba daṅ / rdo riṅs la bris pa las myi dbri myi bcos myi bsgyur bar gyis śig //…*
West ll. 48–50	*ṅa'i źa sṅa nas kyaṅ dbu sñuṅ gnaṅ // gcen Mu rug brtsan daṅ / Jo mo mched daṅ rgyal phran rnams daṅ / chab srid blon po man cad / Źaṅ lon che phra kun kyaṅ mnas bsgagste / gtsigs g-yuṅ druṅ du gnaṅ ṅo //*
Buddhist Context	Call to the mundane and supramundane divinities for attestation/testimony/corroboration
bSam yas ll. 12–18	*de las mna' kha dbud pa dag gyaṅ / myi bgyi myi bsgyur bar / 'jig rten las / 'da's pa' daṅ / 'jig rten gyi lha daṅ / myi ma yin ba' / thams cad kyaṅ dphaṅ du / gsol te /*
sKar chuṅ ll. 52–55	*de la mna' kha dbud pa dag myi bgyi myi bsgyur bar // 'jig rten las 'das pa daṅ / 'jig rten gyi lha daṅ myi ma yin pa thams cad kyaṅ / dpaṅ du gsol te //*

Table 2: Transmission of the legal assignment: modes of inheritance and succession

(1)	In the event that the lineage is broken the granted properties are resumed, and in case of disloyalty [the lord] is released from the oath
Ptib 1287.284–285	*… khol yul yaṅ ma ñes par dprog re // sñiṅ ma riṅs par rabs chad na / khol yul bźes re // khyed glo ba riṅs na dbu sñuṅ la ma gthogs / …*

(2)		In case of the lineage's extinction the unilineal right is transmitted to the nearest kin's descendants
Źol North ll. 27–38		*Zla goṅ gi bu tsha peld las la la źig / rabs chad na rabs chad gyi khol yul daṅ / nor pyugs / blar myi bźes par / pu nu po gaṅ ñe ba stsald par gnaṅṅo // Blon sTag sgra klu khoṅ / gi bu tsha rgyud peld / dku rgyal gyi yi ge lag na 'chaṅ 'chaṅ ba źig rabs chad dam bkyon bab na yaṅ / dṅul* *gyi yi ge blar myi bźes par / Blon sTag Klu khoṅ daṅ / Zla goṅ gi bu tsha rgyud gaṅ ñe ba gcig dṅul gyi yi ge chen po g-yuṅ druṅ du stsald par gnaṅ ṅo //*
rKoṅ po ll. 14–16		*nam źar kyaṅ / rKoṅ po'i rgyal por gźan myi gźug par / Kar po maṅ po rje'i bu tsa 'phel rgyud las stsal bar gźaṅ ṅo / Kar po maṅ po rje'i rgyud rabs chad na / gcen rgyal po / Kar po'i myiṅ myi rlag par / rgyal por yaṅ // Kar po rgyal brtsan gyi rgyud las / bsko'o //* *rgyal brtsan gyi rgyud kyaṅ rabs chad na // ñe 'tshams las // kha chems kyis gaṅ / gsold ba'i naṅ nas / spus daṅ sbyard te // gaṅ 'os pa gcig stsald bar gnaṅ ṅo //*
(3)		The rights of succession (*yi ge'i g-yuṅ druṅ, las sna chen po…*) and inheritance are granted in perpetuity and shall never be resumed
Źwa	West ll. 37–40	*…sNaṅ bzaṅ 'dus khoṅ gi bu tsha 'phel rgyud / la la źig gis sku daṅ chab srid la sñiṅ riṅs sam / ñes pa gźan źig byas na yaṅ / gaṅ gis ñes pa la rma / phu nu bu tsha ma ñes pa / gźan la khrin myi rma / gyod la myi gdags / bka nard myi mdzad /*
	West ll. 42–44	*… sNaṅ bzaṅ 'dus koṅ gi bu tsha 'phel rgyud gyi bran źiṅ / 'brog sog tshal las stsogs pa / naṃ źar rabs chad dam / bka g-yod la thogs na yaṅ / phyag tu myi bźes / …*

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ABBREVIATIONS

EI Epigraphia Indica

ICl L'Inde Classique. *Manuel des études indiennes*, par Louis Renou et Jean Filliozat (1953) T. I, Paris, Payot. T. II, Paris, EFEO, 1985 (repr.)
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Deb ther dkar po: see AMDO GENDUN CHOPEL (1990)
Deb ther dmar po: see 'TSHAL PA KUN DGA' RDO RJE (1999)

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Fig. 1: Vartula script, from a palm leaf manuscript of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā*, kept in the Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine, London, copied in the rg. of Vigrahapāla (ca. 1055 – 1081). [Courtesy of Wellcome Library L0027854 and L0017446]

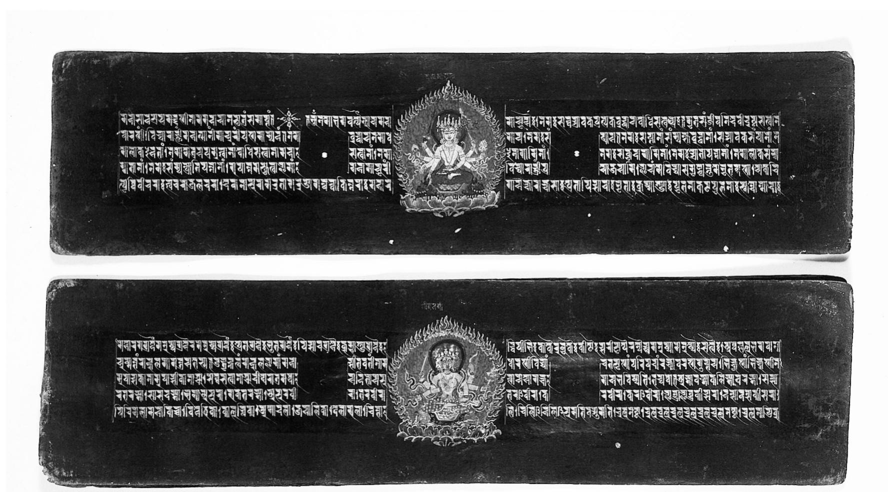




Fig. 2: Rañjana script, from a MS of the *Pañcarakṣa* (*Mahāmāyūrī*), kept in the Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine, London, copied in saṃ 774/AD 1653. [Courtesy of Wellcome Library L0021448 and L0035405]



Fig. 3.1: Tibetan manuscript recording a *smon lam / praṇidhi* for the "Bod kyi rgyal po chen po btsan po lha sras Khri gtsug lde brtsan" (817–841), in *dbu can* script, attesting the *siddhamātṛkā* 'ba'; from Dunhuang, kept at the BNF, Paris, Ptib 130



Fig. 3.2: Tibetan manuscript, so-called "Formulaire Hackin" (XI[th] c.?), in *dbu med* script, attesting the triangular 'ba', both for Tibetan 'ba', for subscript 'ba', and for Sanskrit transcription 'ba/va'; from Dunhuang, kept at the BNF, Ptib 849



FIGURE 1. Signature of King Harṣa on the Bānskheṛā copper plate: *svahasto mama mahārā-jādhijrāja-śrīharṣasya* ("This is the signature of me, the Great King of Kings, Śrī-Harṣa"). From EI 4, plate facing page 210; copyright, Archaeological Survey of India.

Fig. 4: The recently doubted autograph of king Harṣa Śīlāditya (r. 606 – 647), from Richard Salomon, *Indian Epigraphy*, New York, 1998: 70, Fig. 1

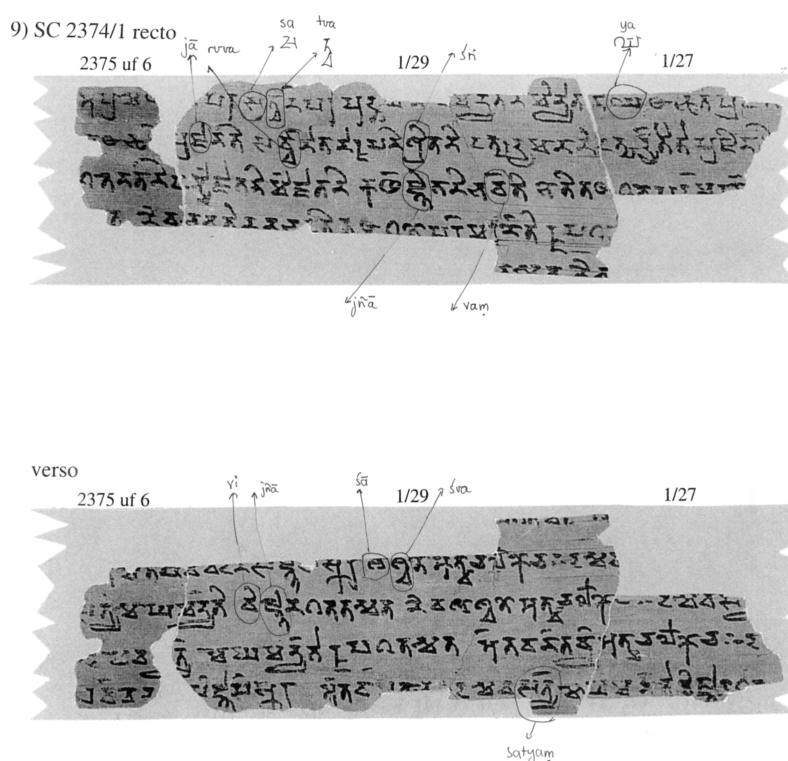


Fig. 5.1 – 2: "Fragment of an *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* from the Kuṣāṇa period", kept in the Schøyen Collection. See Lore Sander, in: Jens Braarvig (gen ed.) Buddhist Manuscripts, volume I, Oslo, Hermes Publ., 2000: 26 (text), Plate IV.1

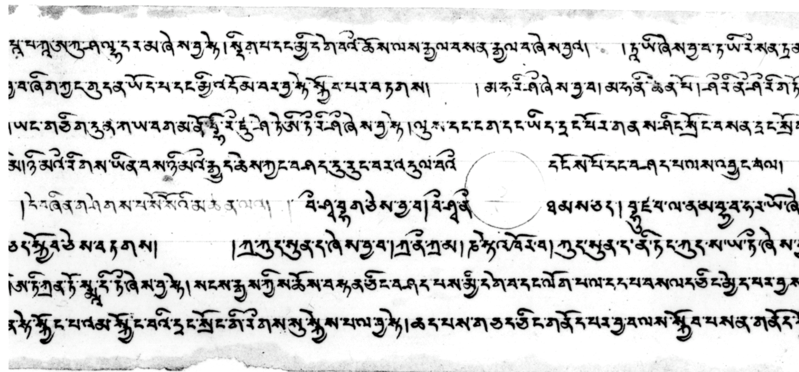


Fig. 6: Tibetan manuscript of the *sGra sbyor bam po gñis* pa, fol. Ga, with Sanskrit transcription: l. 5 vi. śva. bha. ga, attesting both the *siddhamātṛkā* 'ba' and the triangular 'ba' in the subscript ligature; from Dunhuang, kept at the BNF, Paris, Ptib 845

	a	c	h	i	k	Gilgit/Bamiyan-Typ I
A:	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
E:	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
kha:	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
ḍa:	[illegible]		[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
ṇā:	[illegible]		[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
thā:	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
bhū:	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
mā:	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
ya:	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
rū:	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
śa:	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
sa:	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

Plate 203 Sander; Development of the Gilgit/Bāmiyān calligraphic ornate type (Gilgit/Bāmiyān Type I) from the Kuṣāṇa period onwards. From: L. Sander, 1968: 127.

Fig. 7.1: Development of the Gilgit/Bāmiyān calligraphic ornate type (Gilgit/ Bāmiyān Type I) from the Kuṣāṇa period onwards, from Lore Sander "Remarks on the Formal Brāhmī of Gilgit, Bāmiyān and Khotan", in: Karl Jettmar, *Antiquities of Northern Pakistan*, volume I, Plates, Mainz, 1989, Plate 203

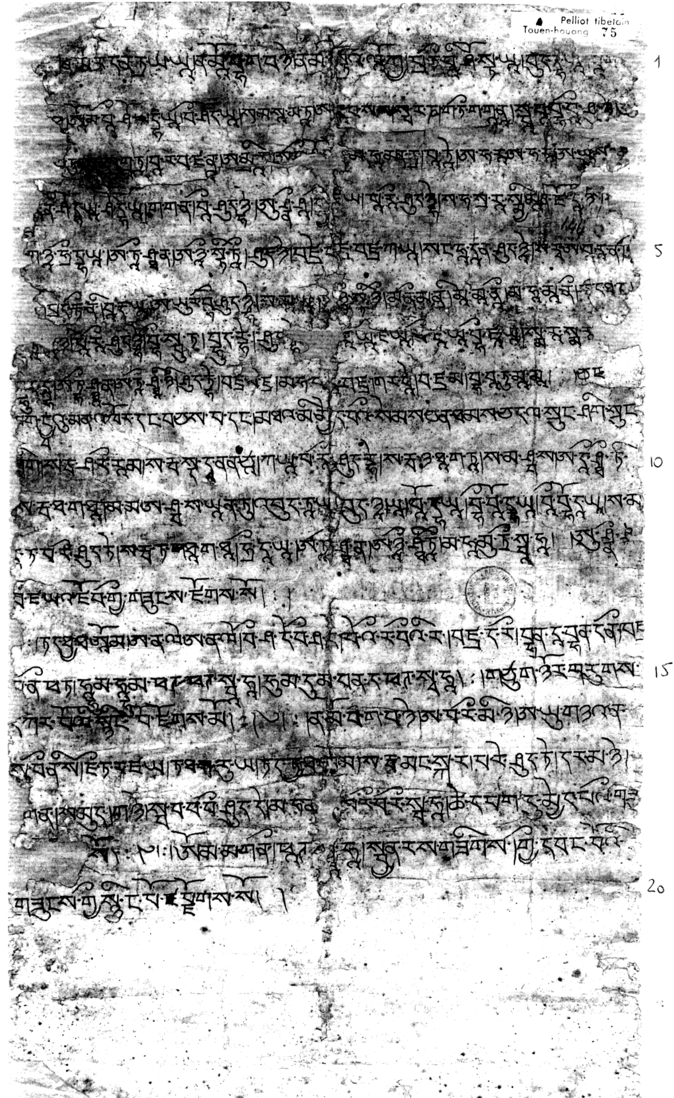


Fig. 7.2: Tibetan manuscript listing various formulae, na. *Uṣṇīṣasitātapatrā-hṛdaya,* with Sanskrit transcriptions and presenting several ligatures l. 11: śva, rva, etc. from Dunhuang, kept at the BNF, Paris, Ptib 75

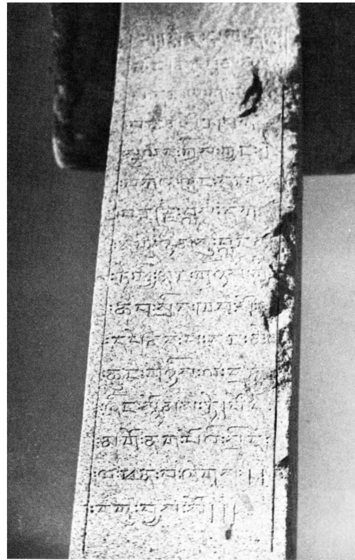


Fig. 7.3: Lhasa Źol inscription, east side, in square letters, cf. Ptib 75

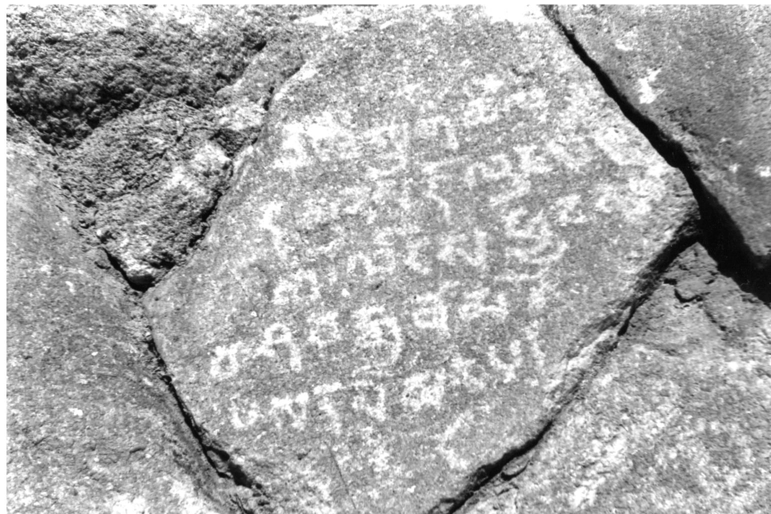


Fig. 7.4: Tibetan inscription at Haldeikish (Hunza Valley, North-Pakistan), ca. mid-VIII[th] c., attesting the direct borrowing from Brāhmī (ba, śa, …). Courtesy of Jason Neelis (letter of August 1997) whom we heartily thank for making accessible to us his thesis (2001) now published: see Jason Neelis, Early Buddhist Transmission and Trade Networks. Mobility and Echange within and beyond the Northwestern Borderlands of South Asia. Brill, 2010